



ELIZABETH DE VALOIS,

QUEEN OF SPAIN,

AND

THE COURT OF PHILIP II.

FROM NUMEROUS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES, IN THE ARCHIVES OF FRANCE,
ITALY, AND SPAIN.

BY

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THE LIFE OF MARGUERITE D'ANGOULEME, AND THE LIFE OF JEANNE
D'ALBRET, QUEENS OF NAVARRE.

"Jam felciter omnia."

LEGENDE D'ELIZABETH DE VALOIS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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P R E F A C E.

THE events connected with the life of Elizabeth de Valois Queen of Spain, have furnished the historian, the poet and the romance-writer with abundant material for fictitious conjecture. The relations of the young queen with her step-son, Don Carlos, and the mystery attending the death of the latter—a catastrophe followed two months subsequently by the decease of Elizabeth herself, are episodes which have been skilfully wrought by eloquent pens. Yet the incidents of Elizabeth's life, when examined in the impartial light of history, afford slight ground for such deductions ; nor would any controversy have existed respecting her career, or her ultimate fate, had not these romantic speculations been put forth

with all gravity as authentic and true. The stories current, however, furnished too attractive a theme for poetical licence, to render authors who have chosen Elizabeth for their heroine, very solicitous to investigate the truth or the falsehood of their assertions. The beauty and the sudden decease of the young queen, her previous betrothal, as it is alleged, to Don Carlos, her subsequent *liaison* with the Prince, and the dark and revengeful character of Philip II., afforded, it must be confessed, materials scarcely to be surpassed in pathos and dramatic interest. The time, however, has arrived when the mysterious accusations which have for so long shadowed the memory of Elizabeth de Valois and her unfortunate step-son, may be impartially investigated; and the deeds of Philip II., in his relations as a husband and a father, judged by the clear testimony of documentary evidence.

The life of Elizabeth de Valois has never been before made the subject of a distinct Biography. The narrative, with few exceptions, has been entirely written from manuscript and unpublished sources. The author has made researches amid the Spanish Archives of Simancas, the MSS. of the Bibliothèque

Impériale, and those contained in the Archives du Royaume de France. The result has brought to light a variety of state documents and letters of the highest importance for the faithful delineation of this period; and the intrigues which beset the court of Philip II. during Elizabeth's tenure of the crown-matrimonial of Spain.

The most important of the manuscript documents consulted, are perhaps, the correspondence of the French ambassadors, at the court of Madrid, the marquis de St. Sulpice, and the baron de Fourquevaux; and the inedited despatches of Philip's ambassador in Paris, Don Francisco de Alava, which are preserved in the Spanish archives. Some small portion of the voluminous correspondence of De Fourquevaux with Catherine de Medici, and Charles IX., during the latter period of Elizabeth's life has been quoted by Von Raumer, in his History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; extracts, of which Mr. Prescott has availed himself in his History of the Reign of Philip II. With this exception, the correspondence of De Fourquevaux, so interesting and graphic, has remained totally inedited. The despatches of De l'Aubespine, bishop of Limoges

which record some of the earliest events of Elizabeth's queenly career, were published in 1841, by order of the French Government, and ably edited by M. Louis Paris.¹ The author has availed herself of the many important and interesting details developed in that correspondence.

The Archives of Simancas, have, moreover, afforded some invaluable manuscript documents relating to the celebrated interview of Bayonne, between Catherine de Medici, her daughter the queen of Spain, and the duke of Alba. The correspondence is also there preserved which ensued between Philip II., and his ambassadors, Alba and Alava, respecting the political attitude, and the designs of the court of France, on the religious questions of the sixteenth century. All these various documents have been, likewise, for the first time consulted for this history.

The impression left on the mind relative to the character of Elizabeth de Valois, after a perusal of these various manuscripts, differs essentially from the popular estimate of her disposition, and her condition when in Spain. The notion is also entirely destroyed

¹ *Négociations, Lettres, et Pièces Diverses relatives au Règne de François II.*

that Don Carlos exercised any adverse influence whatever, over the history of Elizabeth; though many of these documents help materially to elucidate the causes of the arrest of the Prince, and his subsequent fate.

In conclusion, the author desires to return her grateful acknowledgments to the numerous friends who have assisted her in surmounting the difficulties occasioned by the amount and varied nature of the research requisite for this Biography, and the History of the court of Philip II., while it was presided over by Elizabeth de Valois.

LONDON, JANUARY, 1857.

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ELIZABETH DE VALOIS,

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CHAPTER I.

Birth of Elizabeth de Valois—Her baptism—Her nursery establishment at St. Germain—Arrival of Mary Stuart in France—The *maréchale de la Marck* appointed governess to the princesses—Displeasure of queen Catherine—Education of the princess Elizabeth—Her preceptors—*Thèmes de Marie Stuart*—Edward VI. makes overtures for the hand of Elizabeth—Influence of Catherine de Medici over the mind of the princess, and of queen Mary—Household of Elizabeth—Birth of Don Carlos, prince of Spain—Details concerning his infancy—Conferences of *Marcq*—Proposal for the union of Elizabeth de Valois, with the Prince of Spain—Marriage of Mary Stuart with the dauphin Francis—Conferences of *Cateau Cambresis*—Death of Mary, queen of England—Resumption of the negotiations—Hand of Elizabeth is demanded by Philip II., King of Spain—Treaty of *Cateau*—Character of Philip II.—Impatience displayed by the king to receive the hand of Elizabeth—Preparations for the marriage of the princess—Her *trousseau*—Arrival of the Spanish ambassadors—Entry of the duke of Alba into Paris—His reception by Henry II.—Interview with Elizabeth de Valois—Address of the municipality of Paris—Betrothal of Philip and Elizabeth—Marriage contract—Public solemnization of the marriage ceremonies—Banquets and revels—Tourney in the *Rue St. Antoine*—Death of Henry II., king of France.

ELIZABETH, or *Isabella*¹ de Valois, was born at Fontainebleau, on the 22nd of April, 1546. She was

¹ *Isabella* is the Spanish appellation for Elizabeth.

the second child of Henry II, and of Catherine de Medici. Through her father, Elizabeth traced descent from Charlemagne, and St. Louis; and by her mother she claimed near kindred with the illustrious Houses of Medici, Gonzaga, Strozzi, Orsini, and La Tour d'Auvergne. The birth of the princess, happened during the reign of her grandfather, Francis I., at an auspicious period, when peace had been concluded at Campes, between the kings of France and England. Elizabeth was a few weeks old when ambassadors arrived from Henry VIII. to confirm on oath, the treaty recently concluded; and to represent the English king at the baptism of the princess—Henry, in his satisfaction at the termination of hostilities having gladly consented to stand her godfather. The ambassadors of the king of England were John Dudley Lord Lisle, Admiral of England, and Thomas Lord Cheney, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and High Treasurer.¹ The ceremonial in which Catherine's infant bore so unconscious a part, was of most imposing description. The magnificent Cour du Donjon of the palace of Fontainebleau was hung with rich tapestry, and with silk damask wrought for the occasion by the artists whom king Francis had established in his loyal city of Lyons. In the centre of the *cour*, a platform was raised, surmounted by a canopy of pale blue silk spangled with golden stars. Beneath, rose a magnificent buffet nine stages high covered with cloth of gold; upon which was a gor-

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérémonial de France*, p. 146, t. II.

geous display of gold plate—jewelled cups fresh from the marvellous chisel of Cellini, carvings in ivory, figures of gladiators and nymphs, and precious stones glittering in every conceivable design and variety. There were also exhibited for the especial gratification of the English ambassadors, cups and shields which had belonged to Charlemagne and to St. Louis; “and so costly was the display,” says the chronicler,¹ “that there appeared to be assembled the contents of the plate closets of all the monarchs of Europe.” A guard of Swiss surrounded this precious buffet; and attendants were placed to recount the history of the various articles of *virtù* there displayed, to the English and to other foreigners of distinction present. From the royal apartments a gallery was constructed to the Chapelle de la Sainte Trinité, for the court to traverse in procession. This gallery was adorned with heraldic shields bearing alternately, the arms, device, and cognizance of Francis I., and of king Henry VIII., the floor being spread with Persian carpets of the rarest description.

All preparations being completed, the baptism of the princess was performed about the 3rd day of June. First, marched the two hundred gentlemen of the king’s household richly arrayed, and bearing their battle-axes. Heralds with tabards and batons followed, preceding the princes and nobles of the court, who walked two and two, wearing their robes

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém. de France*, p. 147, t. II.

and orders. The royal babe was borne in the arms of Lord Cheney as the representative of Henry VIII., the train of the cumbrous robe which enveloped the princess being supported by four noblemen. The godmothers of the infant princess followed—queen Eleanor of Austria, second consort of Francis I., and the princess Jeanne de Navarre, only daughter of the king's sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, queen of Navarre. All the ladies of the court followed, arrayed in sumptuous attire. At the portal of the chapel, the procession was met by the cardinal de Bourbon, the prelate chosen to perform the baptismal rite, attended by a train of bishops and cardinals, attired in full pontificals, and wearing mitres. Melodious hymns of praise ascended as the *cortège* advanced up the choir of the beautiful chapel to the platform, reared in front of the high altar upon which the ceremony was to be performed. The king, accompanied by the dauphin and dauphiness, occupied a glazed gallery to the right of the font. When the officiating prelate demanded by what appellation the infant princess was to be called, the English ambassadors advanced and named her Elizabeth. "As soon as that right royal name was uttered," recounts the chronicler, "it was immediately proclaimed aloud several times by the heralds of France and England, to the sound of trumpets, clarions, and artillery." The ceremony proceeded; and at its close the infant received the solemn benison of the assembled prelates.

In the evening, king Francis entertained the court at a stately banquet: after which were various ballets and pageants. The following day, the lists were opened for a mock combat between the dauphin Henry and the count de Laval, each of the combatants being supported by a chosen band of cavaliers. The dauphin Henry and his troop were arrayed in white armour, and bore on their shields the badge of Diane de Poitiers, duchesse de Valentinois, a crescent, with her motto "*donec totum impleat orbem.*" The count de Laval, who was one of the most magnificent of the courtiers, wore the colour of queen Eleanor's maid of honour, Claude de Foix¹—scarlet, with a phoenix for his badge. The tourney lasted during a whole day, the gallant achievements of the knights challenging unanimous applause. The combat, however, ended by the dauphin and his band driving the count de Laval from the field. "He who particularly distinguished himself for valiant daring," says the chronicler,² "was the chieftain of the troop clad in white armour. He jousted with such perfection of grace, that he ravished the eyes of all beholders, who were compelled to acknowledge that this brave cavalier, who was our dauphin Henry, had without flattery carried away the palm, and triumph of victory."

¹ Daughter of Odet de Foix, maréchal de Lautrec, and of Charlotte d'Albret, dame d'Orval.

² Hilarion de Coste, *Eloges des Enfants de France. Vie de Henry, Dauphin de Viennois.*

On the conclusion of the rejoicings for the baptism of the princess Elizabeth, Catherine de Medici decided that her infant should be removed from Fontainebleau to St. Germain-en-Laye.¹ Full liberty seems to have been given to Catherine to act as she pleased in respect to her daughter; and to nominate whomsoever she preferred to posts in her nursery establishment. King Francis was absorbed by those anxieties which darkened the close of his reign; the dauphin occupied himself with political schemes; queen Eleanor, melancholy and devout, took no part in the divisions of a court, over which she possessed little influence; while madame de Valentinois having successfully established herself as Catherine's rival in the affections of the dauphin, was too sage and moderate to interfere in the projects of the former. Perhaps the duchess alone, at this period, appreciated truly the inherent powers of dissimulation, and the ambition which formed the basis of the character of the dauphiness: Diane was tolerated by Catherine, because she assailed not these the ruling passions of her soul; and madame de Valentinois carefully refrained from provoking such conflict.

A household was formed at St. Germain for the infant Elizabeth on a very extensive scale. Her nurse's name was Catherine de Louzelle; and that of her chief dresser, Claude de Nau. Madame de

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém. de France.*

Clermont¹ was appointed her governess and first lady. She had also a train of rockers, waiting maids, and valets-de-chambre. The beauty and strength of the infant formed a happy contrast to the infirm condition of health of her brother, Francis, then a child of two years old. The celebrated physician, Jean Fernel was appointed by Catherine to superintend the medical department of her children's establishment at St. Germain; and to his care and skill, Francis II. eventually owed his escape from the maladies which menaced his life during his childhood.

In November, 1547, the year following the birth of Elizabeth, another daughter was born to Henry II. and Catherine. The princess was named Claude, by the Swiss Cantons, who sent ambassadors to present her at the baptismal font.² Catherine's nursery establishment at St. Germain was still further augmented in July, 1548, by the arrival thither of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland. Elizabeth was then two years old: and Mary had nearly completed her seventh year. This difference in age of almost five years, rendered it impossible for Mary and Elizabeth to pursue their studies at first under the same preceptors. The arrival of Mary was an unwelcome event to the queen, who had in vain protested against her betrothal to the dauphin Francis; for Catherine dreaded the political ascendancy

¹ Louise de Bretagne, baroness de Castelnau et de Clermont Lodève—a lady descended from the illustrious house of Penthièvre.

² *Mém. du maréchal de Vieilleville*, liv. x. Lambert, *Hist. de Henri II.*, t. i. p. 19.

which Mary's kindred of the house of Guise would acquire by this alliance. The seductive grace of the queen of Scots, child as she was, soon influenced her future consort. "*Cette petite reinette Ecossaise tournera toutes nos têtes Françaises,*" had been Catherine's contemptuous observation, when she witnessed the eagerness with which the most sedate cavaliers of the court hailed Mary's coquettish notice. The dowager duchesse de Guise,¹ Mary's grandmother, superintended the young queen's education and household, although the latter inhabited the same palace as the princesses; an arrangement which queen Catherine felt no inclination to oppose.

About the year after Mary's arrival, the maréchale de la Marck was appointed her preceptress in chief, an authority which, by king Henry's command, was soon extended over the education of the princesses Elizabeth and Claude, his daughters, to the displacement of madame de Clermont, whom Catherine had been pleased to nominate to the chief post in the household at St. Germain. This new appointment, though acquiesced in by Catherine, yet excited her extreme resentment; and it proved the germ of the inextinguishable hate ever after felt by the queen towards the house of Guise, and even for Mary herself. The maréchale de la Marck² was the eldest

¹ Antoinette de Bourbon, daughter of François duc de Vendôme, and of Marie de Luxembourg, countess de St. Paul.

² Françoise de Brézé, eldest daughter of the count de Maulevrier, grand sénéchal of Normandy, by his wife, Diane de Poitiers. She

daughter of the duchesse de Valentinois.¹ Her nomination as governess to the princesses was made at the suggestion of the duke de Guise, whose brother had espoused the maréchale's sister. A proposal so agreeable to the powerful favourite, and one, moreover, recommended to the king by the duke de Guise, had little chance of failure. Madame de la Marck, was therefore installed in her office; and assumed the direction of the household of the princesses. The queen, however, placed about her daughters the learned Italian Corbinelli, whom she intrusted with the direction of their historical studies; and their instruction in the art of versification. To the abbé de St. Etienne, Catherine specially committed the education of the princess Elizabeth. A warm regard soon sprang up between the abbé and his young pupil, whose docility and quickness he highly commends. Elizabeth early displayed much ability: "in her childish years, this princess," says Brantôme,¹ "promised great things." She even shone when compared with the graceful and versatile Mary Stuart. When Elizabeth was little more than seven years old, St. Etienne commenced her instruction in the Latin tongue. Elizabeth also, made rapid progress in Italian; and she acquired the rudiments of the Spanish language. She was carefully initiated in the mysteries of the *couranto* and minuet as

married Robert de la Marck, marshal duke de Bouillon, and prince de Sédan.

¹ Dames Illustres—Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

then danced at the court of Henry II.; and also, in the stately measure of the *passemento de España*. It was esteemed a sight highly delectable to witness a dance performed by Elizabeth and Mary Stuart; the graceful movements, and the beauty of the two princesses, so remarkable, and yet so different, seemed never displayed to greater advantage. The dancing-master of the princesses, was one Paul de Rege. His letters of appointment are signed by Henry himself, and addressed to Monsieur de Humières, governor of the dauphin, as all the royal children resided together at St. Germain. "Mon cousin," wrote the king, "the bearer of this is one Paul de Rege, who is a good dancer (*balladin*), and, moreover, as I understand, an honest and well-conditioned man. I have therefore decided upon appointing him to teach my son the dauphin to dance, also to instruct my daughter the queen of Scots, and all the young ladies and gentlemen in their service, also my other children. For these reasons you will present the said de Rege to my son; and will provide him with food and lodging with the rest of the officers, taking care that he is duly employed, that no time may be lost."¹ After Elizabeth had completed her tenth year she joined Mary Stuart in her studies; and together these young princesses received the lessons of Corbinnelli, St. Etienne, and of the learned Amyot, their preceptors. Mary, from her superiority in age, bore away the palm of learning, and far surpassed Eliza-

¹ Egerton Papers, B. Museum.

beth in her knowledge of the ancient tongues. A curious, and interesting record of the school-days of these two princesses exists in the Bibliothèque Impériale; which, strange to say, has been overlooked by the recent biographers of Mary Stuart, though of moment to the early history of that princess. The manuscript consists of a collection of eighty-six short essays composed by Mary, and afterwards translated by herself into the Latin tongue, the French and the Latin versions standing side by side. The themes are almost all written in the form of familiar epistles, or admonitions, addressed to her friend and companion, Elizabeth. Sometimes, Mary gives a summary of her morning's reading with her master: at others, she dilates on some royal virtue; and not unfrequently her little essays assume the shape of a reprimand to her sister Elizabeth for indolence, or impatience while occupied with her studies. Mary's Latin versions display ability, and sustain the repute which she afterwards acquired for her classical attainments. Elizabeth having one day omitted to show sufficient diligence in her studies, at the lesson of the following morning, Mary addressed her thus:

MARIA SCOTORUM REGINA, ELIZABETÆ SORORI,
S. P. D.

“Ce n'est pas assez au commencement de tes études, ma sœur bien-aimée, de demander l'aide de Dieu : mais il veut que de toutes tes forces tu travailles. Car ma mie, les anciens ont dit que les Dieux ne donnent leurs biens

aux oisifs, mais les vendent par les labeurs. Adieu, et m'aime autant que je t'aime.

“A. RHEIMS.”

Mary's Latin translation of her letter is as follows:

“Non est satis in principio tuorum studiorum a Deo petere auxiliū. Sed ipse vult ut totis viribus labores. Nam, amica summa mea et soror, antiqui dixerunt Deos non dare bona sua otiosis, sed ea vendere laboribus. Bene vale, et me, ut amo te, ama.”¹

Wearied, probably, with the learned dissertations in which her sister indulged with her preceptor, Elizabeth one day displayed some contumacy in completing her task, and impatience when reprimanded for her fault. Mary writes to her sister a lecture on her misdemeanour, telling her “that when a princess takes a book into her hand, she ought not only to seek amusement in its perusal, but moral profit.”

MARIA SCOTORUM REGINA, ELIZABETÆ SORORI.

S. P. D.

“J'ai entendu, ma sœur, qu'hier à notre leçon vous fûtes opiniâtre. Vous avez promis de ne le plus estre. Je vous prie laisser cette coutume; et penser que quand la princesse prend le livre en ses mains elle le doit prendre, non pour se délecter seulement, mais pour s'en retourner meilleure de la leçon. Et la plus grande partie de la bonté est vouloir le bien estre fait. Car si vous le voulez certainement vous le pouvés: et afin que bientost aies l'esprit digne de princesse, pensés que ceux qui nous

¹ Thèmes et Versions de Marie Stuart. Ancien Fonds Latin. MS. Bibl. Imp., No. 8460. Thème 4.—Inedited.

reprennent et amonestent librement sont ceux qui nous aiment le plus. Par quoi accoutumés vous à ceux-là, et les aimés aussi.”

“Intellexi, soror, quid heri in tua lectione tu fuisti pertinax. Promisisti te non amplius esse. Deprecor ut relinquas istam consuetudinem, et cogites quod quum princeps accipiat librum, sumere debet non solum ut delectetur, sed ut discedat melior a lectione; et major pars bonitatis est velle bonum fieri: quod si tu velis, certe potes. Cum ut statim habeas animum principe dignum cogita illos qui recognoscunt et emendant errata tua et libere te docent, esse qui te plurimum amant. Quare et illos assuescito amare. Vale.”¹

Another morning, Mary Stuart wrote the following graceful address of congratulation to Elizabeth on her diligence.

M. S. R. EL. SORORI,
S. P. D.

“I have heard from our master, my sister and darling, that now you are studying well, for which I greatly rejoice, and pray you to persevere in as the greatest good that can happen to you in this world. For the gifts which we owe to nature are of short duration, and age will deprive us of them. Fortune may likewise withdraw her favours: but that good thing which Virtue bestows (and she is wooed only by the diligent pursuit of letters) is immortal, and will remain with us always.”²

This sage letter was duly translated into Latin by the youthful queen of Scots, then in her fifteenth

¹ *Thèmes et Versions de Marie Stuart. Ancien F. Latin. No. 8660, MS. Bibl. Imp. Thème 34.—Inedited.*

² *Ibid, Thème 9ème.*

year. Had Mary remembered, when seated on the throne, the many wise and tolerant maxims, contained in these, her school essays, her reign might have been one unsurpassed in prosperity. The quotations from the various authors, both ancient and modern, to which Mary casually alludes in this collection of *themes*, shows the erudite nature of the education received by the princesses.

“You were astonished yesterday, my sister,” writes Mary Stuart in another epistle, “that being Sunday, I quitted the presence chamber of the queen to retire into my study. The reason was, that during the last two days I have been reading a colloquy, written by Erasmus, and entitled *Dialogus*, which is so fine, so witty, and so practical that never can it be surpassed. Ah! how he rates those who pass much time in sleep! or who think nothing of wasting time, which after all is the most precious of all things. Moreover, the Latin is easy, and so elegant that it is impossible to read anything more polished. I will construe some of it to you to-day if I have leisure. Adieu!”

Mary occasionally addresses her betrothed husband, the dauphin; she also writes to madame Claude, and to her uncle the cardinal de Lorraine; always taking as the subject of her theme, some incident of her daily life at St. Germain and elsewhere; or selecting a passage, or precept from her studies to descant upon.

The dauphin, and his two brothers, Charles and Henry, likewise pursued their studies at St. Germain, under the learned tuition of Bourdillon, Cipierre, and Corbinelli. At stated periods of the day, the six royal children met to take diversion together in the grand saloon of the castle. When madame Claude had attained her fourth year, she was betrothed to the young duke de Lorraine; whose territories king Henry had taken under his own guardianship, whilst he sent the duke to St. Germain to complete his education in the society of his affianced. The two elder daughters of Henry and Catherine, were betrothed almost in their cradles; and married before their tutors and governesses considered their education commenced.

The first overtures for the hand of madame Elizabeth, were made by the young king of England, Edward VI. In the year 1552, Edward accredited ambassadors to the court of France, to ask for the queen of Scots in marriage. As Mary, of course, rejected Edward's suit, the ambassadors were directed to transfer the offer of the crown matrimonial of England to Elizabeth, whom the lords of the privy-council averred in their despatch to be "a lady of singular beauty, prudence, and intelligence for her years." The embassy consisted of the marquis of Northampton, the bishop of Ely, Sir Thomas Smith and others. Their instructions how to proceed in the delicate task confided to them, are minutely drawn. The marquis was desired to demand a dowry with

the princess Elizabeth of 1,500,000 crowns; in case this sum should be thought excessive, the envoy was empowered to deduct 300,000 crowns; but upon no account to accept a less sum than one million of crowns. King Edward on his part offered madame Elizabeth a yearly income, and a jointure equal in amount to that settled upon Catherine of Arragon on her union with Henry VIII. The negotiation, however, was cut short by the premature decease of Edward VI in the month of July of the following year.¹

When Elizabeth had attained her tenth year, she was admitted to the receptions of queen Catherine, when the latter held her court at St. Germain. The king and queen were proud of their eldest daughter; for the manners of Elizabeth were even at that early age remarkable for gravity, and condescension: while she inherited her mother's grace of deportment. As Catherine's favourite child, the young princess was often enabled with impunity to make her escape from the school-room to the queen's private apartments. There, seated by Catherine's side, or reposing on the embroidered cushion at her mother's feet, the princess intently watched the queen's deportment, when she granted private audiences to ambassadors, or other noble personages.

Catherine's manners exercised the same fascination over Mary Stuart; and notwithstanding the cold reserve with which she was always treated by her

¹ MS. B. Museum, Pl. cxvii. F.—Inedited. Additional MSS.

future mother-in-law, Mary endeavoured to win her regard by the most submissive deportment; and, like Elizabeth, she always preferred the privilege of remaining in Catherine's presence, to the society of her younger companions.

One day the queen asked Mary why she did not join the princesses, her companions, in their amusements, instead of remaining standing by her side. The young queen replied, "Madame, with them, it is true, I might enjoy much pleasure, but I should learn nothing; whilst here, beholding your majesty's affability and most gracious deportment, I am receiving a benefit, and witnessing an example which must profit me throughout life."¹ Catherine, however, was not to be propitiated by one of the blood of Lorraine; and jealousy of Mary's influence over the dauphin, which had already established her uncles of Guise high in the favour of the heir apparent, closed the queen's heart against the overtures of the young Mary.

Mary seems also to have failed in inspiring the princess Elizabeth with attachment. In after life, when Elizabeth had attained to the summit of human grandeur, her written allusions to Mary are cold, and slighting, and express constant anxiety relative to the probable intrigues of the queen of Scotland. Elizabeth's favourite companion at this season, was Jeanne d'Albret, then duchesse de Vendôme, her godmother and cousin. The vivacity of the duchesse

¹ Conceus in Jebb.

Jeanne, her candour, and sincerity, exercised great influence over the princess. Another privileged friend of Elizabeth's was Anne de Bourbon, daughter of the duke and duchesse de Montpensier. Mademoiselle de Bourbon was about the same age as Elizabeth, and received her education with the princess at St. Germain. The duchesse de Montpensier, her mother, was the queen's friend and *confidante*, and merited the influence she exercised over her royal mistress, by her virtues and understanding. Mademoiselle de Bourbon, had therefore been selected by the queen for her daughter's chief companion; and the friendship which ensued seems to have afforded to both, a source of pleasure and enjoyment, for Elizabeth was always greatly influenced by her mother's preferences and dislikes. The princess had besides, a number of young ladies of her own age attached to her household, which was arranged on a princely scale, and in accordance with the exalted expectations formed by her august parents, as to the future destinies of their favourite daughter. The cardinal de Lorraine, the uncle of Mary Stuart, undertook the spiritual instruction of the princesses; and paid frequent visits to St. Germain in his capacity of confessor.

In the palace of Valladolid, meanwhile, the prince with whose name that of Elizabeth, or Isabel de Valois,¹ is inseparably associated, was pursuing his studies amid the orange groves, and delicious gardens

¹ Elizabeth was called, when in Spain, la Reyna doña Isabel.

of that ancient abode of the monarchs of Spain. Don Carlos, the eldest son of Philip II. by Mary of Portugal, was born July 9th, 1545, nine months before Elizabeth came into the world. His mother survived his birth four days only; and died commending her child to the care of his father Philip, who was then only eighteen years old. Philip, who had been exceedingly attached to his Portuguese consort, exhibited, at first, great solicitude respecting the helpless babe left to his charge. The infant was strong, and active, although slightly deformed, having one shoulder higher than the other. The appetite of the child was insatiable: and it is said, though doubtless with exaggeration, that he inflicted such injury on his wet-nurse, with two teeth he was born with, that the woman performing that office was changed two hundred times. At length, no person was to be found willing to accept the dangerous service. Philip, consequently, issued orders that his son might be weaned; or, if it were requisite, that he should in future be suckled by a goat. The temper of the boy as he advanced in growth, puzzled the Spanish duenna appointed to the onerous office of his governess: at once passionate and wayward, he terrified all around him; while his exalted rank, preventing so frequent a use of the rod, as might have been desirable, encouraged the turbulence of his disposition. Probably, timely and judicious correction might have been attended with success, in curing the prince of his violent propensities; but the

servile homage which had surrounded Carlos from his birth, made him resent either control or rebuke from the wiser counsellors of his grandfather, the Emperor. There can, however, be no doubt that the mind of Don Carlos was clouded from his birth by the hereditary insanity of his race. That fearful malady obscured the renown of the descendants of Isabella the Catholic; many of them princes remarkable for abilities, which under happier circumstances, might have been exercised for the benefit of mankind. A Portuguese princess, Isabel of Avis, daughter of Don John, son of John I, king of Portugal,¹ carried the fatal taint into the royal Spanish line of Franche-Comté. Her daughter, Isabel the Catholic, inherited without alloy the most brilliant qualities which had distinguished the representatives of the two dynasties of the peninsula. The fatal germ, however, developed itself in the children of Isabel; and the princess Juana, eventually the heiress of the Catholic kings, and the mother of the emperor Charles V, by her union with the heir of the Hapsburgs, died a helpless lunatic at Tordesillas. Again the Emperor Charles sought the alliance of the house of Avis; and his three children, the fruit of his union with his first cousin Isabel, daughter of Emmanuel the Great, were more or less affected

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¹ Don John of Portugal, father of Isabel of Avis, was the son of John I. and Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt. Philippa was, therefore, the great-grandmother of queen Isabel the Catholic, who was the daughter of Isabel of Avis.

with the malady, though in them it took the form of religious gloom and bigotry. Philip, the son of the Emperor, unwarned by past experiences, asked the hand of another Portuguese infanta, the daughter of his father's sister;¹ and the unfortunate Don Carlos was the issue of that ill-starred union, he having insanity as a paternal and maternal heritage.

When Don Carlos had completed his fourth year, his father appointed Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, count de Melito, better known by his subsequent title of prince of Eboli, to be his governor; for the fierce and sullen disposition of the prince defied the control of women. His preceptor was Don Garcia de Toledo, a noble of exemplary life and morals; the prince had also two sub-preceptors, Honorato Juan, and Don Antonio de Rojas. The guidance of this unruly spirit was an undertaking of no slight risk and responsibility. Philip, however, entreated Ruy Gomez to accept an office, to which he alone appeared competent, possessing as he did, in supreme degree, the favour of his royal master. Carlos, however, showed no more inclination to obey his new governor, than he did his preceptress. It is related, that before the prince had attained his seventh year, one of his pages having provoked his anger, he fell into a transport of rage, and refused to eat until the offender was hanged in his presence. For some time this outrageous demand was resisted; but the prince stubbornly

¹ Doña Maria, daughter of John III., king of Portugal, by Catherine, sister of Charles V. The princess was born at Coimbra, October, 1527.

refusing food, in accordance with his threat, his attendants became so alarmed, that they compromised the matter by hanging the culprit in effigy from the window of the apartment of the prince. Ruy Gomez, meanwhile, privately despatched a messenger to the king, to request his presence in the apartment of Don Carlos. Philip complied ; and after hearing from the lips of Ruy Gomez a statement of the facts, he advanced towards his son, soundly boxed his ears, and commanded the figure to be taken down.¹ He then admonished the prince on the wickedness of yielding to such undisciplined passion ; and finally, Philip took his departure, leaving Don Carlos in a paroxysm of rage, which, as soon as his father was gone, broke forth with violent demonstrations. Carlos never forgot the blows inflicted by his father : afterwards he perpetually reverted to the indignity when under the influence of passion, vowing to be some day revenged ; “so that this blow,” says the historian, “inflicted upon one only, was in reality, felt by many.” All kinds of expedients were resorted to, to subdue the unruly temperament of the prince. A system of solitary training was adopted without successful result. By the advice of the emperor Charles, twelve youthful cavaliers, the sons of the noblest hidalgos of Spain, were then appointed to attend upon the prince ; so that in their society, he might attain that chivalrous and polished deport-

¹ Ferreras, *Hist. de España*, t. ix. Mathieu, *Hist. de Charles IX.*, p. 305.

ment in which his ancestors had excelled. Amongst other singular proposals, it was suggested that Carlos should undergo a medical course to cool his choleric temperament, and to render him less boisterous in his conduct. The unpromising disposition of Don Carlos was regarded by many, as a judgment inflicted on Philip for his treatment of Doña Isabel Osorio, the beautiful sister of the marquis de Astorga,¹ whom before his union with Mary of Portugal, he had seduced under promise of marriage, it is believed, and who had borne him three children. The Venetian ambassador, Badoero, writing from the court of Toledo, in 1557, gives the following description of Don Carlos. "The Prince," says he, "is of weak complexion; he has a head of disproportionate size, black hair, and a fierce disposition. He displays most consummate pride, insomuch as he will never remain long standing in his father's presence, or take off his cap. He calls the emperor, father; and his own father, only 'brother.'"²

The first proposal for the future union of the young and beautiful Elizabeth de Valois with the froward heir of Spain, was made by the English ambassadors at the Conferences of Marcq, opened May 23rd, 1555, to promote a final arrangement of the differences between Charles V., and the crown of

¹ Marquès de Astorga, conde de Trastamara, y de Santa Marta, señor de la Casa Villa Lobos. The revenues of the marquès de Astorga amounted to 30,000 ducats, the ducat being of the value of nine shillings and sixpence, English currency.

² MS. Bibl. Imp., Colbert, 5486.

France—differences, which the battles of Pavia, and Renty, the treaties of Madrid and Cambray, had aggravated, rather than appeased. At this period, Philip was the consort of Mary Tudor, queen of England; for, in 1554, at the command of his father, the emperor, he had bidden a reluctant farewell to Valladolid, to espouse his cousin, the daughter of Catherine of Arragon. The triumph of placing his son Philip on the throne of England, almost compensated to the emperor Charles for the military and political reverses which lately had obscured the glorious *prestige* of his earlier years. The disastrous flight from Inspruck; the repulse of his arms before Metz; the retreat of Renty, had warned the emperor that his prosperity had limits. Moreover, the defeat of his guileful project of supplanting his nephew Maximilian in the succession of the empire, for the elevation of his son Philip; and the election to the papacy of Paul IV.,¹ his bitter foe, were sources of anxiety, fraught with such ominous future import, as to increase the emperor's longing wish for the repose of his chosen retreat at Yuste. The desire had grown stronger and stronger within the bosom of the emperor to adjust his quarrel with the crown of France, before he relinquished his sceptre; so that he might instal his son Philip supreme over a

¹ Giovanni Piero Carraffa, dean of the Sacred College, archbishop of Chiéti, and cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Carraffa was elevated to the papacy in 1555, on the decease of Marcellus II. Paul IV. died August 18th, 1559, aged eighty-four.

realm, united, loyal, and at peace with surrounding nations. The same longing for peace possessed the mind of Philip's consort Mary. After much negotiation, it was determined to open Conferences at Marcq,¹ the ministers of Philip and Mary being appointed to act as mediators. The English plenipotentiaries, were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, cardinal Pole, and the lords Paget and Arundel. The Imperial deputies, were the duke de Medina Céli, Granvelle, bishop of Arras, count Lallein, and Jérôme Viglius, president of Charles's Flemish council of state. A splendid tent was erected as a place of conference for the ministers, who were, after a little delay, joined by the cardinal de Lorraine, the bishops of Vannes and of Orleans, and by de l'Aubespine, secretary of state, on behalf of Henry II.

The historian, Mathieu, gives an amusing sketch of the spirit and temper in which the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers conducted these negotiations. "The king of France," says he,² "demanded restitution of the duchy of Milan. The emperor insisted that the question should not be discussed, as the affair had been decided by previous treaties. The English ambassadors then proposed the marriage of Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the king of France, with Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip, heir of the

¹ A village between Ardres and Guines.

² Hist. du Règne de Henri II., liv. III. p. 135, &c. Ribier—Lettres et Memoires d'Etat, t. II. p. 613; also, De Thou—Hist. de son Temps, liv. XVI.

emperor, on condition that the said emperor should renounce in favour of this alliance, his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and the sovereignty of Aost; the king engaging to constitute those territories as a dower for his daughter. The French objected, "that it was not customary to portion the daughters of France, with the heritage of her sons; but that if the emperor would give the hand of one of Maximilian's daughters to Charles, duke of Orleans, the king would gladly give his daughter to Don Carlos."

The Imperial deputies asked and obtained an interval of three days, to deliberate upon this proposal; but on their re-assembling they declared through Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, "that their powers were limited solely to organize a plan of general pacification, without treating of a marriage which they referred to the emperor's decision; but on the other hand, no further parley could they hold respecting the cession of Milan, the emperor having yielded that territory and its dépendencies to Don Philip, on his marriage with the queen of England." The constable de Montmorency then remarked that no good and valid reason for this refusal had yet been alleged, save the arbitrary will of the emperor, "and as," said he, "you will yield nothing on your side, neither will we on ours." Granvelle retaliated by observing, "that if restitution was to be the preliminary of peace, the king of France ought to set the example by restoring the dominions of the

duke of Savoy." After several similar conferences, during which the marriage of Elizabeth with Don Carlos was again proposed by cardinal Pole, the assembly separated, having agreed upon nothing. The plenipotentiaries previously signed a declaration, stating, "that the breaking up of the Conference, was not to be deemed an avowal of incompetency on their part to effect a reconciliation between the princes ; but merely as a suspension of the negotiations until God, in His infinite mercy, should dispose the hearts of their respective sovereigns to the thankful acceptance of the blessing of peace." "The emperor," observed the astute Montmorency, "flattered himself to bargain with us on the same terms as with the late king Francis of glorious memory ; and that to bend us to his will, he had only to put on a semblance of inflexibility, but God be praised, that time is past never to return."

Elizabeth had completed her tenth year, when the conferences of Marcq were holden ; and Don Carlos was eleven years old. The following year, 1556, a truce was agreed upon at Vaucelles, between the crowns of France and Spain, for the space of five years, the question of the proposed marriage being reserved for after discussion. Nevertheless, it cannot reasonably be supposed that this conditional conjunction of the names of Don Carlos and Elizabeth, could have kindled in the heart of the prince of Spain that romantic passion attributed to him for the fair daughter of Valois, whom he had never seen, and,

judging from the scanty records of his childhood which we possess, about whose alliance he concerned himself as little as he did respecting any other good and laudable project.

The expectation of an alliance with Spain, was, however, ingrafted on the youthful mind of Elizabeth ; her future union with the heir of that monarchy being flattering to her pride even at an early age, living as she did in daily companionship with Mary Stuart, the betrothed of the dauphin, and with her young sister Claude, the affianced bride of the duke de Lorraine. The incorrigible wilfulness of the prince of Spain, however, rendered it a doubtful matter whether he would ratify any such negotiation for his future espousals. His feuds with the regent Juana filled the Spanish court with cabals and disquietude. The unruly boy defied his aunt's authority, and persisted in his reckless courses, despite her admonitions. He and his band of cavaliers became the terror of Valladolid. One of the favourite pastimes of Don Carlos was to place himself at the head of this troop, and rush wildly through the streets of the capital, uttering frightful yells, tearing through private residences ; and knocking down every opponent of whatever sex, or age.¹ The emperor Charles V, nevertheless, when he passed through Valladolid in 1556, on his road to Yuste, formed rather a favour-

¹ Brantôme, *Vie de Don Carlos*. Brantôme states that most of these turbulent young cavaliers came to an untimely end, and were, throughout their career, distinguished for their wild and audacious spirit.

able opinion of the character and abilities of his grandson. "His majesty," writes Don Francisco Osorio to Philip II.,¹ "showed great approbation of the prince our lord, saying to me, that he experienced satisfaction at the demeanour of *su Alteza*, who shows himself to be of such heart, that when any matter of importance occurs, it was his opinion that he ought to be admitted to the council of state." As the weather was cold on the day the emperor made his entry into Valladolid, he wore a robe furred with sable, and very ample, which greatly excited the surprise of Don Carlos, who expressed an opinion that his imperial grandfather was attired in a very strange fashion. Afterwards, however, the emperor found himself compelled to change his favourable opinion of the prince, whose extravagant conduct greatly excited his surprise and indignation. Charles seems to have once proposed to his daughter to take charge for a season of Don Carlos, and to cause him to pursue his studies at Yuste, under his own immediate inspection. But the emperor, when established in his retreat, appears not to have repeated his offer, although he was frequently reminded of it by Doña Juana, who most anxiously desired to relinquish her nominal control over the person and household of the prince into the hands of his grandfather.

Elizabeth, meantime, made her first state appearance in public on the marriage of her brother the

¹ Gachard, *Retraite de Charles V.*, t. II. p. 103. Carta, Valladolid. 26th October, 1556.

dauphin Francis, with Mary Stuart. This ceremony took place on Sunday the 24th day of April, 1558.¹ The bloody fight of St. Quentin (1557) had again restored the supremacy of Spain in the battle-field, and avenged the gratuitous rupture on the part of the French of the truce of Vaucelles, in 1556—a truce violated even before the ink dried with which the belligerent parties had affixed their signatures to the treaty. The often mooted question of the Milanese was set at rest for ever by this success of the Spanish arms. The constable de Montmorency and many of the noblest peers of France remained captives at Antwerp, and in other Flemish fortresses. At this juncture, the duke de Guise, with noble patriotism, stemmed the torrent about to overwhelm his country. As the guerdon of his conquest of Calais from the English, and the glorious capture of Thionville, Guise demanded the immediate celebration of the marriage of his niece with the dauphin. The king his royal master, the council, and the nation at large hailed the great duke as the “saviour of the realm.” The beautiful Mary, therefore, was summoned from her retirement at St. Germain, that her marriage might complete the triumph of her kindred.

Elizabeth walked in the nuptial procession with her sister, madame Claude; the princesses followed immediately after queen Catherine. At the ball which ensued, after supper in the Salle de St. Louis, in the Palais, Elizabeth danced the first dance with the bride, and delighted the spectators with her grace,

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérémonial de France*, t. II. p. 1, et seq.

and her dexterity in the management of her train, which being six yards long, was borne after her by a gentleman throughout the mazes of the lively *couranto*. After having accomplished this difficult feat, Elizabeth danced a minuet with her friend Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre.¹

During the month of January of the following year, political events determined King Henry to effect the marriage of his daughter Claude with the duke of Lorraine. The conferences of Cateau Cambresis had opened for the negotiation of peace between the crowns of France and Spain. The duchess of Lorraine,² mother of the young bridegroom elect, and cousin-german of Philip of Spain, presided at these conferences, and as she disapproved of her son's alliance with France, Henry determined to solemnize the marriage before Christine had time or opportunity to frustrate the design. The alliance was highly gratifying, moreover, to the princes of Guise, who beheld their niece consort of the dauphin, and the second daughter of their king about to become the bride of the chief of their house. The consideration, however, which principally induced Henry to consent to the early nuptials of his gentle daughter Claude, was his fear lest any unforeseen event might prevent the perfecting of this union, and place the ducal

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém. de France*, t. II.

² Christine of Denmark, daughter of Christian VII., and of Isabel, sister of Charles V. The duchesse de Lorraine espoused, first, Francisco Sforza, duke of Milan.

coronet of Lorraine on the brow of a princess of Spanish blood. Some of Henry's privy councillors remonstrated with the king on the seeming slight inflicted on his eldest daughter, madame Elizabeth, by celebrating the nuptials of her younger sister before her own. The fair and stately Elizabeth, however, was the pride of her royal father's heart, and the jewel by which the king hoped eventually to purchase the peace so indispensable for his realm. "My daughter Elizabeth is of such heart and dignity, that we must not think of bestowing her hand on a duke," exclaimed king Henry. "She must reign over a kingdom, and that none of the smallest, so lofty are her aspirations. Being what she is, my daughter cannot fail to obtain such a throne. Therefore, Messieurs, you perceive that she can afford to wait." When king Henry made this declaration, he doubtless again contemplated the union of his daughter with Don Carlos, as had been proposed at the assembly of Marcq. The prince, during this interval, had not amended his evil courses. He is described by his tutor as sickly, sullen, and lazy at his books. His governor, Ruy Gomez, having been summoned by his royal master to Brussels, Don Garcia de Toledo was nominated preceptor to the prince, associated with Mathieu Bussalas, a famous linguist and rhetorician. Philip had directed that his son should remove from Valladolid with his tutors and books to the gloomy monastery of Tordesillas, the abode of his lunatic grandmother. This command, though

¹ Brantôme, Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois ou de France.

it contributed greatly to the repose of the regent Juana and her court, was injudicious, and totally frustrated the benefit which Philip supposed his son would derive from a solitary course of study.

On the 27th of August, 1557, Don Garcia wrote to the emperor Charles at Yuste a lamentable complaint of his grandson's delinquencies. He states that it was the habit of the prince to rise at seven, and to breakfast; he then attended mass at half-past eight. From that time until eleven, when he dined, the prince pursued his studies. Afterwards, he played at *truecos* with his companions; at half-past three, he partook of a slight collation, and then read for an hour. He next took exercise out of doors, and returned for supper. At half-past nine, he prayed and then retired to bed, where he soon fell asleep. Don Garcia proceeds to describe his pupil as hating his books, awkward on horseback, sluggish in constitution, stupid of apprehension, and shunning all noble and manly games.¹ Such was the consort with whom her parents were well content that the young Elizabeth de Valois should share the throne she had been taught to covet.

The conferences of Cateau Cambresis opened on the 15th day of October, 1558. For the space of one month the names of the prince of Spain, and Madame Elizabeth were coupled in every variety of proposition; and appeared to be the *point d'appui* of the astute plenipotentiaries, French, Spanish,

¹ Stirling, Cloister Life of Charles V., p. 115.

and English. On the 15th of November, Mary, queen of England, the consort of the king of Spain, died: the negotiations were forthwith suspended for the space of two months, so impressed were the ambassadors with the vast scope for negotiation opened before them by the decease of this princess.

As soon as the mortal remains of Mary Tudor were deposited beneath the splendid fane of Westminster Abbey, Philip began to deliberate upon the expediency of forming a fresh alliance. The impending conferences of Cateau, through which the balance of power was to be restored on the continent, ancient feuds allayed, and alliances consummated, exercised due influence on the calculations of the king of Spain. His union with Mary of England had been one of state policy only; though the queen sacrificed the love of her subjects, and her future fame, in her vain efforts to win the affection of her consort.

Philip commenced his matrimonial overtures by offering his hand to Elizabeth, the half-sister and heiress of his late consort. After much coquetting, queen Elizabeth refused the proposal, preferring the undivided homage of her people, to the splendour of the crown of the Hapsburgs. Doña Isabella Osorio, soon after Philip's marriage with the queen of England, having hidden her wrongs in a cloister, the king's matrimonial speculations centred a second time on Mary of Portugal, cousin-german to his first consort, and only daughter

of the deceased queen Eleanor, dowager of France, by her previous union with Emmanuel the Great. But the jovial and enterprising Infanta was born with a keen appreciation of the advantages of wealthy celibacy. Her independent spirit, which scorned to make the smallest advance to win even the triple crown of the Spains, shocked the exacting Philip; and this, together with a timely remonstrance on the part of the Spanish cabinet relative to the hereditary insanity in the house of Avis, put an end to the design. Philip's eye then glanced for a second on the duchess dowager of Lorraine, Christina, niece of the emperor Charles V., and daughter of the deposed monarch, Christian VII., king of Denmark. This lady had a spirit lofty enough to cope with that of the king of Spain; for queen Catherine de Medici even pronounced the duchess Christine to be "*la plus glorieuse femme qu'elle avait jamais connue.*"¹ Probably, however, Philip had his own secret views and resolves throughout the discussion of these various matrimonial projects. He was a profound worshipper of beauty, which reigned second only in his estimation to wealth, and that without being in the slightest degree avaricious by nature. In the bride assigned by diplomatic resource to the prince, Don Carlos, Philip beheld both youth, beauty, and rich dower united. The alliance of the Valois was the most illustrious that could be contracted; one,

¹ Brantôme, Vie de Christine de Danemarck, duchesse de Lorraine et de Milan.

also, which would temper the animosity subsisting, since the battles of Pavia and St. Quentin, between the chivalry of France and Spain. Philip, from his inmost heart, abjured the glory culled on the battle-field: with his pen, and by the subtle genius of his diplomatic agents, he prepared to minister to the grandeur of Spain, and to the prosperity of the holy Roman faith. On the re-assembling, therefore, of the plenipotentiaries of France, England, and Spain at Cateau Cambresis, during the last week of January, 1559, the Spanish ambassadors received commands to substitute, in the negotiations for a matrimonial alliance between the houses of Hapsburg and Valois, the name of Don Philip, present possessor of the crowns of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Jerusalem, and the two Sicilies, and sovereign of the Low Countries, for that of Don Carlos, the heir-apparent.

It can scarcely be supposed that Henry II. felt reluctant to accept king Philip for his son-in-law, so desirous was he of an alliance with Spain; or that Elizabeth herself preferred the ungovernable and insolent boy whose future dominion, even in the opinion of his father's devoted servants, appeared likely to be bounded by the precincts of the convent of Tordesillas, where, his grandmother, queen Juana, had terminated her miserable career.

The interviews between the ambassadors of the powers were holden in the summer palace of the bishop of Cambray. On the part of the king of

Spain there were present, the duke of Alba, Ruy Gomez de Silva, Granvelle, bishop of Arras, the prince of Orange, and Ulric Viglius. King Henry sent the constable de Montmorency, the cardinal de Lorraine, the marshal de St. André, Morvilliers, bishop of Orleans, and de l'Aubespine. The duchess Christine of Lorraine undertook the part of mediatrix, and president of the conferences. After a very brief discussion, the treaty of Cateau was decided upon. Its principal articles were, that the kings of France and Spain should cede mutually the conquests made on the territories of the other during the last eight years: and that Henry should bestow his daughter Elizabeth upon Philip, with a dowry of 400,000 golden crowns. The king, moreover, covenanted to give his sister Marguerite to Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, the conqueror at St. Quentin, with a dowry of 300,000 crowns; and to make restitution of the duchy of Savoy, with the exception of the towns of Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, Villeneuve, and Chivas, to its rightful sovereign. It was thus with a single stroke of the pen that Henry relinquished the important conquests made by Francis I., at the cost of incalculable blood and treasure. There were, also, additional articles, by which Henry ceded Corsica to the Genoese. He likewise, withdrew his protection from the inhabitants of Sienna in their pending contest with Cosmo I., grand duke of Tuscany.¹ The

¹ De Thou, *Hist. de son Temps*. Mezeray, *Abrégé Chron.*—*Vie de Henri II.* Mém. de Rabutin, liv. ix. Ferreras, *Hist. de España*, t. ix.

treaty, which thus irrevocably affianced Elizabeth to the king of Spain, was signed on the third day of April, 1559.

However indifferent the princess Elizabeth might feel relative to the suit of don Carlos, it is certain that she contemplated her alliance with king Philip with unconquerable dread. The stories current throughout Europe of the stern and unprepossessing reserve of that monarch, his disdain for every person and thing not Spanish, and his alleged harsh treatment of his English consort, filled the mind of the youthful princess with apprehension. Philip's haughty bearing towards his Flemish subjects when, in 1548, his father the emperor, summoned him from the cloistered palaces of Castile to receive their homage, was a topic still discussed in most German courts. He had then affected the highest state and dignity; suffering even the electoral princes of the empire to stand uncovered in his presence.¹ A Spaniard in heart and inclination, Philip steadily refused to converse or to write in any other language save his own sonorous Castilian. He strictly conformed to Spanish fashions in his costume; and so devoted was the king to the sunny land of his birth, that, throughout a long life, he never spent a day out of Spain after his return thither in 1559.

The intellect of Philip II. was sagacious and acute. His cold reserve of manner was partly constitutional, and partly the result of his early training

¹ Watson, *History of Philip II.*, p. 2.

in the ceremonious court of his mother the empress Isabel, who, during the absences of her august consort in Germany, ordained an etiquette even more punctilious than that usually observed at the court of Toledo. Philip's education had been confided to the priesthood, who checked any tenderness of spirit he might have displayed, in their zeal to train a monarch worthy, hereafter, to assume the title of "most Catholic majesty." The solemn mysteries of the faith—the link which, the king believed, bound the earthly priesthood with the invisible world—and the pomp of worship, awed his sombre yet haughty spirit. The blood of Avis which flowed in his veins, thrilled with transport at the exhortations given to him by the church to become the exterminator of heresy throughout the civilized world. In Philip II., two natures seemed inherent, yet ever opposed. The loftiest hidalgos of Spain at times shrank beneath the glance of their imperious master; at other periods, the king might be seen on his knees, humbly adoring some miraculous saint, or superintending the adornment of costly robes, gifts to be offered to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, that her patronage might never fail the royal line of Hapsburg.

In personal appearance, king Philip was slight, and of average stature; but there was a majesty and dignity in his deportment which impressed beholders. His features were agreeable in expression: his eyes were blue, and his hair and beard of the sandy hue

inherited from his German ancestors. "The empress, mother of king Philip, brought angels into the world, and not men!" said the duke of Naxara, don Antonio Manrique de Lara.¹

As soon as the treaty was signed at Cateau Cambresis, a portrait of his beautiful betrothed was forwarded to Philip from Paris. The king was highly charmed with this picture; and several times openly expressed his content in the hearing of his court. Philip displayed the utmost impatience to receive the hand of Elizabeth; and he was with difficulty persuaded by his favourite Ruy Gomez to suffer the customary six months of mourning to expire for the deceased queen Mary, before he despatched ambassadors to Paris to espouse the princess.

King Henry was at Villers-Coterets, a palace in the forest of Compiègne, when he received a message from his faithful servant, the constable de Montmorency, informing him that the Spanish embassy would arrive in Paris about the beginning of June, 1559—a period of seven weeks only from the signature of the treaty of Cateau Cambresis. The constable, whom the treaty liberated from captivity in the Low Countries, was to escort the Spanish cavaliers. Without loss of time, therefore, the king returned to Paris, to give orders for the sumptuous celebration of his daughter's betrothal; and also, for that of his sister, madame Marguerite, with the duke of Savoy, which was to be solemnized immediately afterwards.

¹ Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquía de España*, lib. v. cap. 1.

The king after his arrival at the Louvre, sent for the twelve presidents of the parliament of Paris, and after imparting the articles of the treaty, he intimated that the Court was forthwith to transfer its *séances* from the Palais, to the monastery of the Augustinians, Quai des Augustins, as the Salle de St. Louis needed complete redecoration for the banquets to be there holden on the occasion of the wedding festivities. Henry next despatched a missive to his loyal subjects, the provost and citizens of Paris, desiring them to make preparation to meet and harangue the ambassadors of Spain on their entry into the capital. A large and magnificent hall, draped with rich tapestry-hangings, was, moreover, constructed in the Palais des Tournelles; and lists for the tourney were erected in the rue St. Antoine—a locality which the king desired might be thoroughly cleansed and repaired for the occasion.¹

The court upholsterers, decorators, and mantua-makers were, meantime, set to work with the greatest diligence. The king's jewellers were employed in resetting most of the crown jewels for the adornment of queen Catherine, and the bride elect. Elizabeth's *trousseau* was one of singular magnificence; and selected with that exquisite taste in matters of toilette, for which queen Catherine was celebrated. In the list of the dresses provided for Elizabeth, there is mention of four robes of cloth of gold, a robe of crimson velvet, another of gold coloured

¹ Mém. du Maréchal de Vieilleville, liv. viième.

velvet, two robes of black velvet, one being trimmed with *passementerie* and gold, the other with silver lace. She had dresses of white satin, and of white damask, ornamented with silver lace; also a dress of crimson damask very richly adorned with gold. She had besides a robe of pale silver grey damask embroidered with gold thread; and many other dresses of rich silk, too numerous to mention. The princess, moreover, had separate surcoats provided of every imaginable hue; some trimmed with fur, others with lace or gold embroidery. There are also several satin petticoats mentioned, some lined with fur, and stiffened; also, a magnificent *robe-de-chambre* of cloth of silver, furred throughout with lynx. Among the miscellaneous articles of Elizabeth's *trousseau*, are two sets of hangings for her highness's bed-chamber, and her presence-chamber, of frosted cloth of gold and crimson velvet; a bed and draperies of crimson velvet richly embroidered in gold; vessels of silver plate of every description for her chamber and for the use of her household; a splendid litter having curtains of cloth of gold; a chariot and six palfreys. Elizabeth had, besides, a palfrey provided for her own use, with housings of cloth of silver, fringed with tags of the same precious metal. She took with her, moreover, coffers filled with body linen of the most exquisite texture; also, stores of linen were provided for her table and chambers.¹ This tremendous cargo

¹ Mémoire de ce qu'il faut pour Madame. MS. de Béthune, Bib. Imp., No. 8638, fol. 55. Collection de Docum. Inédits.—Négociations,

of valuables occasioned the Spanish envoys no little solicitude to provide for its transport over the mountains in the depth of winter, as they were required to do. King Henry's special gift to his daughter, consisted of two complete sets of jewels, including a rich bordering of gems for her robe.

Philip, meantime, displayed most lover-like impatience to greet his fair bride: and actually so far condescended from his usual *insouciance* as personally to superintend the despatch of the embassy to Paris. He nominated Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba,¹ as his representative to espouse madame Elizabeth. The principal nobles who attended the duke, were Philip's favourite, Ruy Gomez de Silva, count de Melito, the prince of Orange, and the count of Egmont; these noblemen were, likewise, to be regarded as hostages given by the court of Spain for the punctual execution of the treaty of Cateau.

On the 19th day of June, the ambassadors entered Paris. They were met, when at the distance of a league from the city, by the prince de Condé, the cardinals de Bourbon and de Guise, the duke of Lorraine, the king's son-in-law, and the dukes de Nevers, de Guise, d'Aumale, de Bouillon, de Nemours, and by

Lettres, &c., relatives au Règne de François II., par M. Louis Paris, p. 201.

¹ Duke of Alba, marquès de Soria, conde de Salvatierra, visconde de Saelizio, señor de Valde Cornesa. The revenues of the duke of Alba amounted to 60,000 ducats, independently of the income of his numerous appointments.

the prince Alphonso of Este, nephew of the duchess de Guise. These princes were attended by pages wearing their colours, and by footmen in rich liveries. The duke de Lorraine rode at the head of this brilliant troop; and complimented the duke of Alba in king Henry's name. The duke having replied with gravity becoming the monarch he represented, the duke de Lorraine placed himself by the side of Alba—the nobles, forming in procession—and thus, in great triumph, they entered Paris, and proceeded to the Louvre, where they arrived about six o'clock in the evening.

The great hall of the Louvre, meantime, had been prepared for the ceremony of the reception. A dais and canopy of state was erected, under which were three chairs, one for the king, another for queen Catherine, and a third, which stood at some little distance from the queen's *fauteuil*, was placed for the princess Elizabeth. As soon as the silver trumpets of the heralds, and the *vivas* of the multitudes gathered to view the pageant, proclaimed the approach of the duke of Alba, the queen and her daughter, attended by the principal ladies of the court, entered the hall, and seated themselves under the canopy of state. A melodious burst of music announced the presence of king Henry. First marched three hundred Swiss guards, followed by two hundred gentlemen of the chamber. The constable de Montmorency walked next, bearing his *bâton*, which was richly emblazoned with the badge,

and cognizance of Montmorency. The king followed with the dauphin, king of Scotland, with whom it was observed his majesty conversed merrily at intervals. The noblemen of the king's household terminated the procession, which arrived at the portal of the Louvre, exactly at the moment when Alba, conducted by the duke de Lorraine approached on foot. As soon as the duke perceived the king, he knelt, and would have kissed his majesty's feet, in accordance with the homage exacted by his own imperious master. Henry, however, refused to permit this act; but raised the duke, and cordially embraced him, assuring him that he was welcome.¹ His majesty then gave the other Spanish nobles his hand to kiss, honouring Don Ruy Gomez de Silva with especial greeting. The king then took the arm of the duke of Alba, and treating him with the honours due to a king of Spain, he led him to queen Catherine. The duke kissed the queen's hand; then, without waiting for further introduction he approached the princess, and kneeling, he touched the hem of her robe. It was observed that Elizabeth's face became very pale, as she extended her hand towards Philip's representative, and bade him rise.² The duke of Alba then delivered a complimentary message in the Spanish language from king Philip. He also presented the princess with a letter from Philip, and with a casket which con-

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém. de France*, t. II.

² *Ibid.*

tained superb jewels, and a portrait of the king of Spain, very elaborately adorned with diamonds, and small enough to be worn pendent from a chain. Elizabeth rose from her chair, and remained standing while Alba addressed her. She received the letter and the casket with a gracious smile; and taking the portrait of her affianced lord, she pressed it to her lips. The duke of Alba next introduced the Spanish grandees, who had placed themselves round Elizabeth's chair, forming a picturesque group. He then proceeded to offer his homage to the beautiful queen dauphiness, Mary Stuart, who stood at Catherine's right hand; next, with most dignified grace, the duke of Alba approached madame Marguerite, the king's sister, and gallantly assured her of the eager desire felt by her betrothed, the duke of Savoy, for the light of her gracious presence, and that he was therefore hastening to Paris.¹ The reception then terminated by the departure of the queen and madame Elizabeth, who were escorted to the portal of the hall by the Spanish ambassadors.

The Hotel de Villeroy had been set apart for the abode of the duke of Alba, during his residence in the French capital. Thither, therefore, the provost of Paris, and the municipality had proceeded to harangue the duke on his auspicious arrival. The court-yard, the corridors, and the saloon of the mansion, were lined with the civic authorities, arrayed in their gala dresses. From five o'clock in the

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém.*, t. II.

afternoon until ten at night, did these indefatigable functionaries maintain their ranks waiting the arrival of Alba. The household of the duke defiled before their admiring gaze, at the appointed period; but as no tidings could be obtained from them, excepting that their master had proceeded straight to the Louvre, the provost despatched one of his archers to ascertain the movements of the ambassadors. As it then appeared that the duke of Alba, after the termination of his audience at the Louvre, instead of repairing to the hotel de Villeroy, had accepted the invitation of the marshal de St. André, to partake of a banquet at his hotel, the civic authorities resolved at once to repair thither.¹ The banquet had just terminated when the deputation arrived; it was most courteously received by the duke, who assured the provost in lofty Castilian, of the affection and regard entertained by his Catholic majesty for the municipality of Paris.

On the 20th of June, the day following the arrival of the duke of Alba, the ceremony of the betrothment of the princess to king Philip, was performed in the hall of the Louvre, in the presence of the assembled court, by the cardinal de Bourbon. The marriage contract was first read before the royal party quitted the queen's private closet. In this document, the king and queen of France stipulated

¹ Réception des Ambassadeurs de Philippe II. Roi d'Espagne. Extrait des Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville, fol. 33. MSS. de Colbert, Bibl. Imp., fol. 541, No. 140.—Inedited.

to give their daughter the sum of 400,000 gold crowns *soleil*, the crown valued at eighty Flemish *groschen*. A third part of this sum was to be paid as soon as the marriage was celebrated; a second portion on the anniversary of that ceremony; and the rest within the subsequent six months. His majesty, the Catholic king of the Spains assigned on his part as a dower to his future consort, in case of her widowhood, the yearly sum of 133,333 gold crowns, being a revenue in proportion to one third of her dowry. Philip, moreover, covenanted to present his bride with jewels to the amount of 50,000 gold crowns. It was also agreed that Elizabeth should enjoy this magnificent revenue, in case she survived her royal consort, without restriction or deduction; and that she should be at liberty to return to *France*, taking her jewels, and valuables of every description. The king of Spain also promised to provide his consort with a revenue sufficient for the maintenance of her household in a style of magnificence, as had hitherto been the custom of the queens of Spain.¹ The contract was signed and confirmed by the duke of Alba, in the name of king

¹ Léonard, Recueil des Traitez de Paix. Contrat de Mariage de Felipe II., Roi d'Espagne avec Madame Elizabeth de France, passé à Paris, le 20 Juin, 1559, t. II. p. 557. Elizabeth also renounced all future right of succession as regarded her paternal and maternal heritages. This document was executed at Toledo, 1561. The entire sum of the queen's dowry was paid to Philip by the 4th of June 1562, as is proved by the discharge of the debt signed by the king. Both these documents are to be found in the archives of Simancas, Carton F. 674. No. 18, deposited in the Archives Impériales de France.

Philip. The ceremony of the exchange of rings then ensued ; after which was a ball and a banquet. The king and queen, accompanied by their daughter, then proceeded to the palace of the cardinal bishop of Paris close to Nôtre-Dame, where etiquette ordained that royal brides should spend the night previous to the public solemnization of their nuptials.

From early dawn on the day of Elizabeth's betrothal, all Paris had been astir in preparation for the magnificent pageant of her nuptial ceremonies. The youth and loveliness of the princess, the outward splendour of her destiny, and the reported unamiable reserve of her future consort, increased public sympathy and curiosity. The exciting scenes of which she was now the heroine, enabled Elizabeth herself to preserve her composure. Imitating the gracious demeanour of her mother, her *manners enchanted* the Spanish envoys, even while she *shrank from the* discourse of the duke of Alba, when he descanted admiringly on the character of his royal master. The crown of Spain, however, had been presented to the view of Elizabeth from her earliest youth as the boon most to be desired—the one position alone befitting the eldest daughter of the Christian king. The splendour surrounding her, gratified the young Elizabeth, and she bore herself throughout with dignity, which satisfied the fastidious notions of Alba ; so that he was heard several times to exclaim “ of a surety the truly royal graces of this august princess, will efface from the heart of the king our master

any regret he may feel for the loss of his Portuguese, or of his English consort.”¹

Early on the morning of Thursday June 21st, all the bells in the capital pealed joyous *carillons*. The flourish of trumpets, the roll of drums, and the booming of artillery roused up betimes the worthy citizens of Paris, who then as now revelled in the spectacle of a royal pageant. The streets in the neighbourhood of Nôtre-Dame were soon rendered impassable by the noisy throng. The bridges were covered with spectators ; and the roofs of the churches and houses so situated, as to command a view of the pavilion reared in front of Nôtre-Dame, and beneath which the ceremony was to be performed. From the hall of the episcopal palace to the pavilion, a raised and covered platform was constructed by Charles le Conte, master of the works of Paris. The ceiling of this platform was exquisitely carved and painted in heraldic devices ; and at equal distances, banners of blue silk were suspended, bearing alternately the device of king Henry, and of the royal bridegroom elect. The floor was covered with Turkey carpets.

About eleven in the forenoon, a detachment of Swiss guards, heralded the approach of the duke of Alba, Philip's proxy and representative, and the nobles of his suite. The duke was preceded by fifty pages clad in the liveries of the house of Toledo, black, yellow, and red ; and wearing velvet caps adorned with long red feathers, which as the pages

¹ Brantôme, Vie d'Elizabeth de France.

rode before their lord bare-headed, streamed with picturesque effect over the accoutrements of their horses. The duke of Alba rode supported by the prince of Orange ; his robes of cloth of gold blazed with jewels and orders, and he wore on his head an imperial crown. The count de Melito, and the count of Egmont followed.¹

The bells of Nôtre-Dame were ringing the last peal of *la messe de l'épousée*, as the duke arrived at the episcopal palace. A few moments of anxious suspense ensued ; then the air rang with loyal vivas, for the vast *portes battantes* opening from the palace on to the platform of state, were thrown back, and the first group of the bridal procession emerged. First came bishops and archbishops, wearing copes of cloth of gold ; then the cardinals de Bourbon, de Sens, de Lorraine, de Guise, de Lenoncourt, and de Strozzi, arrayed in their pontificals, and wearing their mitres. Next marched one hundred gentlemen of the chamber, followed by the knights of the order of St. Michael wearing their collars and mantles. Afterwards came Monseigneur the grand equerry, the count de Boissy in a robe of cloth of gold. The constable de Montmorency marched next carrying his *bâton* of office, and arrayed in a sumptuous mantle of cloth of gold furred with white wolf skins. Then came the duke de Lorraine, who was preceded by the high chamberlain of France, the duke de Guise. The

¹ Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France. Bénédiction Nuptiale de Philippe II., Roi d'Espagne, et de Madame Elizabeth de France, t. II.

dauphin king of Scotland marched next with the duke of Alba, twelve pages bearing the trains of their robes of state. Then came king Henry leading the bride. The flashing of the jewels on Elizabeth's robes as she walked, encircled her, it is related, with a halo of light. The extraordinary splendour of her dress, seems almost fabulous to detail; and could only then have been exhibited by the consort of the mighty monarch who owned the peerless treasures of the New World. The texture of Elizabeth's robe was literally interwoven with jewels. Round her neck was suspended the portrait of king Philip; and the famous pear-shaped pearl, one of the crown jewels of Spain, brought from Mexico and presented to Charles V., by Hernandez Cortez.¹ Her mantle was of blue velvet enriched by a border of goldsmith's work, one foot in depth. The train of this sumptuous robe was borne by her sisters the queen dauphiness Mary Stuart, and by the young duchess de Lorraine.² Elizabeth wore an imperial crown, adorned with gems; between each of its three *fleurons* a diamond was suspended, set transparently, which emitted most tremulous lustre as she walked, and was valued at the sum of 2,000 *scudi*.³ Queen Catherine and the princess Marguerite walked next to the bride: then

¹ Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.—Vie de Charles Quint. The emperor with great disregard for the beauty of this matchless gem, which Brantôme asserts was "as large as a pear," had caused to be engraved round the pearl the motto: "inter natos mulierum non surrexet major."

² Salazar de Mendoza, Dignidades Seglares de Castilla, lib. vi.

³ Godefroy, Grand Cérém. de France, t. II.

came the ladies of the court, two and two, each noble lady having her train borne by two attendants. The maids of honour of the queen followed—the famed “*escadron de la reine Catherine* ;” these ladies were all arrayed alike, in violet satin embroidered with gold and seed pearls.

The cardinal de Bourbon received the bride as she stepped on the platform. At a sign from king Henry, Alba approached, and the words which made the youthful Elizabeth, Catholic queen of Spain were speedily pronounced. The heralds proclaimed the style, and the title of the new queen, at the four corners of the platform, and distributed a bountiful largesse amongst the multitude; the cannon of the Bastille also saluted. The procession in the same order as it quitted the episcopal palace, then entered the cathedral where high mass was performed. After leaving the church, the royal party was present at a banquet holden in the palace of the cardinal bishop. “All was there so gorgeously ordered,” says the chronicler, “that the very eyes of the spectators glistened with the reflected lustre of the jewels and gold on the dresses of the ladies, and on the vessels of the table.”¹ The king and queen occupied the middle of the table; next sat her Catholic majesty having the duke of Alba at her left hand. King Henry was so pleased at the alliance just perfected, that before he sat down to the banquet, he cordially embraced the duke of Alba, exclaiming, “that to per-

¹ Godefroy, *Grand Cérém. de France*, t. II.

form the part of a good father to his dear son the Catholic king he ought to make a journey into Spain, there to witness the true celebration of the nuptial ceremonies.”¹

When the banquet concluded, the royal party proceeded to the Palais by the Rue St. Christophe, Elizabeth riding in the same litter with her mother. Supper was then very magnificently served, with a repetition of the same wearisome ceremonial as at the previous banquet. In the evening, the ball was opened by Elizabeth, who danced with her royal father; queen Catherine taking the duke of Alba for her partner. A masque ensued, in which six nobles defended a castle against an equal number of assailants: the whole being reflected by mirrors attached to the walls of the apartment in the shape of crescents, the badge of king Henry. A dance of nymphs and satyrs ensued; but the confusion became so great that the queens of France and Spain retired before the revel concluded. As soon as Elizabeth rose from her chair, the duke of Alba approached, followed by a train of torch-bearers, and escorted her to the door of her apartment. He then knelt, and kissing her hand, retired to the abode assigned him, the hotel de Villeroy.

The subsequent days were employed in preparation for the espousals of madame Marguerite with the duke of Savoy; but as a joust was to be holden in special honour of Elizabeth, the lists were opened

¹ Cabrera, *Hist. de Felipe II.*, lib. iv. p. 220.

before that event in the Rue St. Antoine, on the 28th of June. The following day, being the festival of St. Peter, the court assembled in great triumph to witness the feats of the tourney; as king Henry had announced his intention to break a lance with several cavaliers famed for their gallant achievements.

The queen of Spain sat under a canopy of blue Cyprus silk, emblazoned with the armorial devices of her august consort. She was attended by the duke of Alba, and by Ruy Gomez, and a great suite of ladies. The queen of France held also separate state, having the queen-dauphiness on her right hand, and madame Marguerite, the affianced bride of the duke of Savoy, on her left. The king entered the lists in most exuberant spirits; laughingly ridiculing the fears of his ministers, who had done all in their power to induce him to forego the dangerous pastime. Henry who excelled greatly in manly exercises, and who was deemed by his subjects to be a perfect horseman, was resolved on displaying his skill before the Spanish grandees. The king, therefore commanded the marshal de Vieilleville to arm him for the encounter. The marshal obeyed with reluctance. Henry then gallantly rode forward into the arena, and challenged the duke of Savoy to a trial of skill, gaily admonishing him to keep his seat on horseback firmly, as he was determined to unhorse him despite their future bond of alliance. The encounter was made; the lances of both princes being shattered, though neither was unseated. The king

then challenged the duke de Guise. The duke, as became a perfect courtier, suffered his royal master to bear away the honours of the course. The count de Montgommery had next the honour of being selected by Henry as his opponent; and both acquitted themselves most dexterously in the encounter. So far Henry had vindicated his repute as a knight of valiant prowess. When this last feat terminated therefore, Montmorency, and the marshal de Vieilleville approached and besought his majesty to be satisfied with the triumphs he had achieved and to retire from the lists. Henry, however, persisted in challenging Montgommery to a renewal of the combat, exclaiming "*qu'il l'avait fait presque quitter les étriers.*" "Sire," remonstrated de Vieilleville, "refrain I implore you; for by all that is most sacred, for three nights have I dreamed that some great calamity will happen to-day; and that this last day of June is destined to be fatal to your majesty!" Whilst de Vieilleville was remonstrating with the king, the duke of Savoy approached, bringing a message from Catherine to the effect, "that she prayed his majesty to refrain from further combat, as he had demeaned himself already so excellently that it could not be surpassed." "Tell the queen," replied Henry lightly, "that for love of her, and in her honour, I am going to run this course." Montgommery, however, disconcerted by the doleful prediction of the marshal de Vieilleville declined the encounter; but the king sharply commanded him to take a lance and

accept the combat he offered. As Henry was spurring his horse to pass the barriers, the duke of Savoy presented himself again, the bearer of a still more urgent message from the queen, and in which the young queen of Spain joined. Nothing, however, could dissuade the king from his purpose. He entered the lists, the trumpets sounded, and the joust commenced. The lances of the king and his antagonist at the first encounter were shattered, neither flinching from the shock. The king immediately flung away his broken lance, according to the laws of the tourney; but the count, probably confused and reluctant retained the splintered fragment in his grasp. During their joustings, the king bending slightly forwards in his saddle to unhorse his antagonist, the fragment of Montgommery's lance came into violent collision with the vizor of Henry's helmet. The sharp splinter pierced the king's eye, and penetrated to his brain. With a cry of anguish the king fell forwards on his horse, and was carried once swiftly round the lists, before the frightened animal could be stopped. Montmorency then raised his unfortunate master, and removed the king's helmet. Henry, meanwhile, feebly exclaimed, "that he had received his death blow; but that no harm was therefore to happen to Montgommery." The concourse of spectators rose in dismay; and a scene of terror and confusion ensued. Queen Catherine, however, with great presence of mind, addressed the assembly; she commanded the arrest of Mont-

gommery, and admonished all to retire quietly to their respective abodes. Fortunately for himself, profiting, by the tumult, Montgommery had made his escape, nor could his retreat be discovered. Elizabeth, with words of profound sympathy was then safely conducted back to the palace des Tournelles, by Alba and the Spanish envoys; the duke, afterwards, in a despatch to his royal master, describes her grief as terrible and overwhelming.

The unfortunate king, meantime, was carried to his chamber, in a state of insensibility. By the directions of the marshal de Vieilleville and the count de Boisy, grand equerry, the doors of Henry's apartments were closed and no one admitted, not even queen Catherine herself. The aid of five or six of the most skilful surgeons of Paris was commanded to assist the king's ordinary medical attendants; it was, however, found impossible to probe the wound, or to extract several minute splinters of the lance. An order was despatched on the second of day the king's illness, signed by Catherine, for the immediate decapitation of several prisoners in the Châtelet under sentence of death, that the surgeons in attendance on the king, might make an anatomical inspection of the seat of Henry's wound. On the fourth day after the accident, the king recovered his senses, with the faculty of speech. Finding himself gradually sinking, Henry desired that Catherine might be summoned. The queen entered the darkened chamber, and weeping, knelt down by

the bed. The king conversed long and privately with her; then in the presence of his attendants, Henry solemnly confided to her care and guardianship the dauphin Francis, soon to become king, with his other children; he besought her to cause masses to be said for the repose of his soul "for from the horrible torment which I suffer, I perceive, *m'amy*, that my hours are numbered." The king, moreover, requested, that Catherine would cause the immediate solemnization of his sister's marriage with the duke of Savoy, and not suffer the day to elapse before this union was celebrated. Catherine gave the requisite promise: the king's sufferings then being intense, and rendering him incapable of speaking more, the queen rose to withdraw; but so great was her distress and agitation, that she fell forwards fainting on the foot of the king's bed, and was carried from the chamber to her own apartments by the marshal de Vieilleville.¹

The king lingered until the 10th of July, when he expired in great agony; his death being a sudden and terrible conclusion of the pompous pageant of Elizabeth's espousals with Philip of Spain.

¹ Mém. de Vieilleville, chap. xxviii., et seq. "La Roynne promet tout, sur son honneur et sur son âme," writes the marshal.

CHAPTER II.

Embassy of the duke of Arcos to Paris—Changes at the court of France—The Spanish ambassadors—Depression of the queen of Spain—She removes to St. Germain—Correspondence of the ambassadors with Philip II.—Illness of Elizabeth—Departure of Philip II. for Spain—Embassy of the conde de Melito—Coronation of Francis II.—Entry of Elizabeth into Rheims—She proceeds to Vauluisant—Her household—Arrival at Blois—Her journey through France—Ceremonies of her reception on the Spanish frontier—Journey of the queen through Spain—Arrival at Guadalajàra—Interview between Elizabeth and Philip II.—Ceremonies of their marriage—Honours paid to the sovereigns—They grant audience to the municipal authorities of Guadalajàra.

KING PHILIP was at Ghent when he received tidings of the catastrophe of the Rue St. Antoine from the marquis de Bergen, one of the nobles of the Spanish embassy, who quitted Paris to announce the event to his royal master. The marquis was also the bearer of letters from the young queen of Spain to her consort, in which Elizabeth expressed her anguish at this terrible calamity, and her desire to remain some time longer in Paris to comfort her royal mother. Philip immediately summoned the bishop of Limoges,¹ the French ambassador, to his

¹ Sébastien de l'Aubespine, son of Claude de l'Aubespine, seigneur de Plancheville and d'Erouville, elevated to the see of Limoges in 1556.

presence: he then expressed his sorrow at the catastrophe, and exhibited so much genuine sympathy that the ambassador writes, "that never had he seen a prince more afflicted; nor one who testified his regrets more virtuously by his deeds, as well as by his words."¹ The king then commanded his surgeon Vesalius to depart without delay for Paris, in the hope that his skill might avail in saving the life of Henry II.; he next despatched the duke of Arcos² to convey his sympathy to the afflicted royal family of France, and to deliver comforting letters to Elizabeth containing, moreover, expressions of such warm affection, as must have proved highly consolatory. Philip then secluded himself in his chamber, until he received certain tidings of the condition of king Henry, granting audience only to his minister Granvelle, bishop of Arras. Such, however, was his impatience to return to Spain, that he suffered not a single preparation to be delayed by the ceremonious mourning that the court assumed when the news of Henry's decease reached Ghent a few days after the duke of Arcos had received instructions to depart on his mission.

The politics of the court of France, meanwhile, afforded Philip and his ministers ample scope for intrigue and speculation. As soon as the funeral

¹Dépêche de l'Evêque de Limoges au connétable de Montmorency. Docum. relatifs au règne de François II.—Edited by M. Louis Paris, p. 2.

² Don Louis Ponce de Leon, duque de Arcos, marquès de Zahara y Cadiz, prince de Léon. The duque de Arcos possessed a revenue of 70,000 ducats.

obsequies of Henry II. were performed, the constable de Montmorency, the duchess de Valentinois, and many others of the late king's confidential ministers were removed from court and deprived of their posts and offices, under a specious plea of personal consideration, courteously intimated in many cases by the new king himself. The cardinal de Lorraine, and the duke de Guise, the uncles of the reigning queen, Mary Stuart, were elevated to supreme power over the realm; the king of Navarre and his brothers, the princes of Bourbon, being excluded from a share in the administration. As the champions of the Church, and the upholders of despotic government, the nomination of the princes of Guise, was highly agreeable to Philip; they, on their side, gladly accepting the patronage of so Catholic, powerful, and magnificent a monarch. Moreover, the treaty concluded at Peronne, in 1558, between Philip and the princes of Guise-Lorraine, for the extermination of heresy, and the aggrandizement of the holy Roman Church, bound the king of Spain to support their policy, and always to afford them the countenance and aid of his ambassadors in Paris. The heretical opinions of Antoine de Bourbon, and the dislike which the king of Spain felt towards the consort of the latter, Jeanne d'Albret—a princess who had been refused to Philip's matrimonial suit, and who was besides, the rightful claimant of the crown of Upper Navarre, annexed by conquest to the Spanish monarchy by Ferdinand the Catholic—increased Philip's inclination

to aid the designs of the Guises. To defeat the projects of the princes of Bourbon, to deprive them of influence in the state, and to bring them into general odium, for their alleged perversion from the ancient faith, and their want of politic conduct, became the leading principle of Philip's cabinet in its dealing with the affairs of France during the reign of Francis II., and that of his successor. Supported by the Spanish king, by the queen Mary Stuart, by the ultra orthodox party in France, and finally by the countenance of Catherine de Medici, the duke de Guise and his brother, soon beheld themselves in a position to dictate terms of abject submission to their opponents. For a time, everything yielded before the overwhelming interest possessed by the House of Lorraine-Guise ; and Spanish politics reigned supreme in the Louvre. Soon, however, a reaction came ; the Guises, supported at first by the co-operation of Catherine, presumed to disregard the mandates of the queen, and even to show her personal disrespect. From thenceforth, Catherine left no device untried to accomplish their downfall. Religious feuds, and political enmities were recklessly fomented by both parties : the result of such unscrupulous animosity, being that era of perjury and crime so justly deemed the reproach of the sixteenth century.

Before Philip quitted Ghent, the bishop of Li-moges again waited upon him to announce the political arrangements of the cabinet of Francis II.—a matter, however, of mere form, as the king was perfectly ac-

quainted with every incident that had happened subsequent to the decease of Henry II. In reply to the notification of the appointment of the Guises to supreme power, Philip replied, "that he felt singular satisfaction at the conduct of his brother the Christian king, especially in the filial respect which he demonstrated towards the queen, his mother, whose prudence and virtue he appreciated. Moreover, that he held in high estimation the lofty birth, the chivalrous demeanour, and the experience of M.M. de Guise; and that he believed them to be loyal subjects and able to perpetuate the peace which they had been instrumental in promoting." The ambassador, next announced that he had received from Paris the first instalment of Elizabeth's dowry, which he was ready to deliver to any officers properly appointed by his majesty. This news was very acceptable to the king, and so he condescended to intimate. The bishop then congratulated Philip on the virtues displayed by his royal bride, adding, "that the king, her brother, was only waiting the decision of his Catholic majesty, to cause her to be conducted to the frontier in a manner befitting her dignity." Philip replied, "that his love for the said lady and queen, was greatly increased by the report which the marquis de Bergues had made of the esteem and affection in which she was holden by the Christian king, her brother; as he deemed her, in consequence, a very fitting instrument to maintain the alliance between the two crowns of Spain and France. He would

signify his will respecting the departure of the said lady to the duke of Alba. In that which regarded his own voyage, he trusted by the eighth day of the ensuing August, to be on the eve of sailing for Spain.”

With this speech, king Philip dismissed the French ambassador. The bishop adds the suggestion to his despatch, that it would be politic for the French cabinet to intimate to Alba, that the king of France placed his ports, and the officers employed over them, at the disposal of his Spanish majesty, should stress of weather, or dearth of provisions render it requisite to land, or to re-victual his squadron; “the more so,” adds the ambassador, “as the queen of England has commanded her admirals, governors, and vessels to be placed at the disposal of the said king.”

Elizabeth, meanwhile, remained with her mother in seclusion at the Louvre, during the whole of the month of July. The Spanish ambassadors, although they were occasionally admitted into the presence of the queens, found Paris insufferably dull. The palaces were shrouded with funereal hangings; the king and his consort had quitted the capital for Meudon; and depression, occasioned by her recent bereavement, and by forebodings for the future, had quenched the usually lively spirits of the young Elizabeth. Soon the duke of Alba remained sole representative of king Philip at the French court: dispensations from their oath as hostages having

¹ Dépêche de l'Evêque de Limoges au Roi. Négociations relatifs au règne de François II., p. 20.

been accorded to the marquis de Bergen, that he might carry the intelligence of the fatal joust of the Rue St. Antoine to Flanders; to the duke of Savoy, because he was the king's uncle; and to Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, in compliment to king Philip, whom the Guises knew pined for the society of his favourite minister. The prince of Orange obtained permission to depart, under pretext that it was necessary for him to witness the embarkation of king Philip at Flushing. Under these circumstances, the duke of Alba also determined to avail himself of the indulgent humour of the court, and take leave in his turn. Accordingly, before the king departed for Meudon, the duke presented himself, and abruptly demanded permission to quit Paris, on the plea that domestic affairs required his presence in Spain. Francis, taken thus by surprise, and naturally feeling unwilling that all the nobles, hostages of the good faith of the king of Spain, should thus be absolved, replied, "that he would mention the subject to the queen, his mother." It was afterwards agreed between Catherine and her son, to despatch a gentleman to the duke of Alba, to say that his request should be considered on the return of his majesty to Paris.

This reply greatly incensed the duke, who forthwith demanded audience of queen Catherine, to remonstrate on the indignity done him, saying, "that, as the king, her son, had referred the matter to her decision, he therefore prayed her majesty to

vouchsafe the said permission.”¹ Catherine, however, steadily refused to consider the question, until after her son’s return. The duke, piqued that the same favour should not be extended to him, as had been granted to the prince of Orange and to Ruy Gomez, wrote a bitter complaint to his royal master. Philip had, at this period, no resident ambassador at Paris; and as he was unwilling to leave his young bride without a monitor in the dissipated court of the Valois, he listened coldly to the duke’s alleged grievance. A few weeks subsequently, however, he appointed the brother of the bishop of Arras, Thomas Perrenot, sieur de Chantonnay, as his minister at the court of Francis II. When Philip heard that his new ambassador had set out, he observed, in the presence of the bishop of Limoges, “that although his brother, the French king, acted much to his satisfaction in all matters relating to the treaty, nevertheless, the duke of Alba was excusable in having prayed for permission to depart, on account of pressing domestic concerns, he having been long absent from Spain.”² The result of this hint on the part of Philip was, that on the return of Francis II. from Meudon, the duke received the royal license authorizing his departure from Paris.

The absence of the Spanish nobles afforded relief to Elizabeth; for the splendours of her new dignity

¹ Dépêche du cardinal de Lorraine à l’Evêque de Limoges. Docum. sur le règne de François II., p. 36.

² Ibid, p. 57.

diminished not the awe which she felt towards her consort. In vain Philip constantly sent her letters, and love-tokens of the most costly description, and painted his anxiety for the sunshine of her fair presence in Spain in the melodious cadence of his favourite language—her dread seems to have been unconquerable.

After king Henry's obsequies had terminated, Elizabeth accompanied her mother to St. Germain-en-Laye, where Catherine so far deviated from accustomed etiquette as to admit to her presence the princes of Guise and the Spanish ambassador. Chantonnay seems to have continued a vigilant guard over the movements of Elizabeth. His correspondence with Philip was ceaseless: shrewd, unscrupulous, and enterprising, he commenced, from the first hour of his sojourn in Paris, that career of intrigue which finally became so elaborate, that the clue to his political combinations escaped even from the wily diplomatist himself. Chantonnay arrived in Paris about the 15th of August. On the 20th, he visited St. Germain, and requested an interview with Elizabeth, ostensibly to demand whether she had commands to transmit to Madrid. It was probably the consciousness that her actions were closely scrutinized which weighed upon the mind of the youthful Elizabeth, and made her shrink from her future responsibilities. She replied to Chantonnay's inquiry, "that in a few days she should have letters for his Catholic majesty, the which she prayed him to forward." The

ambassador then paid his respects to Catherine. With fluent ease the queen responded to his compliments ; “ and she bade me,” writes the ambassador, “ assure your majesty of her affectionate regard ; and told me to express to you her earnest desire to see your majesty, and that it was her intent to conduct her daughter as far on her journey as possible, though her desire would lead her into Spain, whither it was her intention to go some day, when her daughter should have the happiness of bringing your majesty a son.” The queen-mother, moreover said, “ that it was her highest and dearest expectation that the queen, madame your august consort, should so conduct herself as to become possessed of the entire love and homage of so accomplished a prince as your majesty.” “ To this I replied,” continued Chantonnay, “ that there was complete sympathy between the counsels of your majesties ; and that more and more your majesty had reason to be content with the alliance you had formed.”¹ The perturbation of Elizabeth’s mind seems at length to have had effect on her health ; and the next despatch of the indefatigable Chantonnay announces that she had sickened of a fever, but at the time his letter was sent, her majesty was becoming convalescent again. “ I send a duplicate of this letter to inform your majesty that the queen, our mistress, is now free from fever. Her majesty has deigned to write to me word that she is now better, God be praised, and very anxious

¹ Lettre de Chantonnay au Roi d’Espagne. MS., Bibl. Imp.—Ined.

to hear that your majesty has arrived in Spain in health and safety," wrote Chantonnay to his royal master.

Elizabeth and her mother solaced their grief at their approaching separation, by writing to each other epistles in verse. The hours which they passed together in the gloom of Catherine's mourning chamber, seemed too brief for all that they had to impart. Catherine's sorrow was diverted somewhat by the political anxieties which beset the early days of her widowhood; but Elizabeth was left to bear without alleviation the weight of her own griefs, and the solemn admonitions of the Spanish ambassador. Much valuable counsel was bestowed by Catherine on her daughter during this their sojourn together at St. Germain. Though she keenly felt the parting, Catherine did not regret the political necessity which had converted Elizabeth into Catholic queen of the Spains. Catherine, hereafter, aimed at governing the mind of the astute and wary Philip by the fascinations of his beautiful young consort, over whom her own influence for long remained supreme.

" Je suis à vous, que cette obéissance
Que je vous dois, ô mère, si bien deservedrai
Que mon devoir en cela je ferai.
Vous suppliant très humblement, madame,
Pour la santé de mon corps et âme
M'entretenir en votre bonne grâce ;"¹

¹ Madame Elizabeth de France, Royne d'Espagne, à la Royne-Mère Catherine de Medici. MS., Bibl. Imp. Ancien Fonds Français, No. 7237.—Inedited.

was the fervent language of one of Elizabeth's epistles at this period to her mother.

King Philip, meantime, embarked at Flushing on the 20th of August. So entirely was Spain beloved by the king, that he had resolved to celebrate his third espousals on her soil. Within the stately halls of Valladolid and of Aranjuez, Philip determined to welcome his fair young bride, and to initiate her into the responsibilities of her exalted station, where all around evidenced the grandeur of the Spanish crown. In proportion as the reluctance and fears of Elizabeth increased, so did the ardour of king Philip's suit augment. The monarch who made so disdainful a return for the devotion manifested towards him by his deceased consort, Mary Tudor, now overwhelmed the youthful Elizabeth with homage which terrified her by its ceremonious splendour. Before he quitted Flanders, Philip despatched his favourite, Ruy Gomez, count de Melito, to Paris, to notify that event to Elizabeth. He also sent her a casket of rare jewels which had belonged to his mother, the empress Isabel, with a letter of affectionate import. Ruy Gomez, and the lords of his suite, treated Elizabeth with the most respectful reverence. In her presence, the nobles persisted in standing cap in hand; though, before Philip, they would have asserted their right as *hidalgos* to remain covered. Chantonay transmitted the most trivial intelligence to Madrid regarding Elizabeth's actions: for instance, the postscript to one of his despatches, contains the

following record, "The queen, our mistress, and the queen of France, are now just gone to walk in the gardens attended by monseigneur, the count de Melito. As I write, they are engaged in a conversation with monseigneur de Guise."¹

Philip landed at Laredo, on the 29th of August, 1559. He immediately proceeded to Valladolid, which city he entered accompanied by his son, Don Carlos, and by the princess of Brazil, Doña Juana, his sister. His reception was enthusiastic; and contrasted, in a manner which Philip never forgot, with the cold and ceremonious farewell of his Flemish subjects. The impatience of the king was now intense to behold his bride, and he wrote very especial orders to Chantonnay, to hasten Elizabeth's departure. Queen Catherine, however, had decided that her daughter should be present at the coronation of Francis II.; a pageant which Elizabeth herself desired to witness. She therefore wrote to Philip, to excuse the further delay of her daughter's journey to the frontier, "as the household of her Catholic majesty was not yet complete." Philip received this notification with great discontent; he commanded his ambassador to express his desire that her Catholic majesty of the Spains should quit the realm of France before the end of the year; adding, "that the fewer French personages she brought in her suite, the more agreeable would it be to himself and to his subjects."

¹ Dépêche de M. Chantonnay au Roi d'Espagne. MS., Bibl. Imp.—Inedited.

During the short interval which elapsed between the reception of this despatch, and the coronation of Francis II., the count de Melito held several conferences with the bishop of Limoges, respecting the appointment of a confessor to the young queen. Afterwards by the special command of Philip himself, his own confessor, Fray Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda, archbishop elect of Toledo, undertook to explain his royal master's wishes on the subject. "Monseigneur," wrote the French ambassador to the cardinal de Lorraine, a "few days ago the confessor of the Catholic king visited me to state that above all things, the king, his master, desired that the queen his consort should, after her arrival in Spain, be guided and advised by a spiritual pastor, wise, worthy, learned, and discreet, in order that he may be able, if occasion needs, to admonish and impress upon the said queen, so to order her conduct that it may be deemed acceptable by the king, her lord. In support of which necessity, the confessor quoted the good offices which he had often performed between the king and his deceased consort, the queen of England. He proceeded then to state, that the king had asked him, before the departure of Ruy Gomez for Paris, whether he knew of any personage worthy to be nominated to so notable and holy a function; upon which, the said confessor, after some thought, and after having communicated with Ruy Gomez, mentioned the head of his Order,

resident in the province of Lyonnais, a doctor of the university of Paris, and one who had been his own preceptor and instructor." The ambassador then suggests that the king of Spain, having been pleased to approve of this proposition, it would be politic and courteous for the cardinal de Lorraine to summon the Dominican doctor to Paris, "as monseigneur, knowing the power exercised by his majesty's confessor, the latter may be so flattered by this prompt compliance with his suggestion, that her Catholic majesty and all those whom she loves may hereafter receive from him satisfaction and content."¹

Elizabeth made her public entry into Rheims, to be present at the coronation of her brother on the 14th day of September 1559. The open litter in which the queen rode was draped with black velvet. At the principal gate of the city she was received by deputations of the citizens; and she proceeded to the cathedral church of St. Pierre, beneath a canopy of white damask, supported by four of the most notable burgesses of Rheims. At the cathedral porch she was met by the cardinal de Lorraine, who led her to the high altar, and there bestowed upon her his episcopal benediction. Elizabeth afterwards took up her abode with Catherine de Medici, and Mary Stuart, in the convent of St. Pierre, of which ma-

¹ Lettre de l'Evêque de Limoges, au cardinal Lorraine. *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 69. This ecclesiastic, proposed by the confessor of the king of Spain, was not nominated as guardian of the queen's conscience.

dame Renée de Lorraine, sister of the duke de Guise was abbess.¹

When the ceremonies of the coronation concluded, preparation began to be made in good earnest for the departure of Elizabeth. During part of the month of October she was sojourning with her mother at Vauluisant in Champagne, a celebrated Cistercian nunnery. From thence Elizabeth wrote her earliest letter, now extant, to the French ambassador at Toledo. Philip jealously insisted on appointing, or sanctioning the nomination of all the members of Elizabeth's household; and the queen wrote to the bishop of Limoges, respecting a goldsmith sent to her by her royal consort.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO THE BISHOP OF LIMOGES.

“Monsieur de Limoges,

“I have received the letters which you wrote and despatched by the courier sent by my goldsmith. You therein inform me of the earnest desire of the king my lord to see me, for which reason, I am resolved with less regret to set out and join him soon. The king, Monsieur my brother, after he received your letters, although he had intended to make a longer sojourn here, has set out for Blois, where he will celebrate the festival of All Saints' Day. I am glad to learn that my said goldsmith is skilful as you describe; and if he arrives opportunely, you may inform the king my lord, that the queen my mother, and myself confirm him in his appointment. Moreover, after having with all my heart thanked you for the good news

¹ Extrait de Marlot, MSS. de Rheims. Docum. sur le règne de François II., p. 115.

which you send me, I pray you, M. de Limoges, to continue to give me intelligence of all that passes in Spain, until I arrive there, which will not be long delayed, God helping me, to whom I pray, M. de Limoges, that He may have you in His holy keeping. Written at Vauluysant, this 22nd day of October, 1559.

“ ELIZABETH.¹

“ (Countersigned)

BEEZIAN.”

Soon after the despatch of this letter, Elizabeth joined the court at Blois, from whence her departure was fixed for the 17th of November. Antoine, king of Navarre, the husband of her friend Jeanne d'Albret, the cardinal de Bourbon, and the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, were nominated to escort her to the frontiers of Spain ; these princes being also attended by an imposing suite of noble cavaliers. This office was gladly accepted by king Antoine : it served him as a pretext for quitting the court, where he and his brothers, the Bourbon princes, were treated with insolent indifference by their successful rivals the duke de Guise, and the cardinal de Lorraine.

The household of the queen of Spain was, meantime, formed by her mother. The number of persons appointed is incredible, and might well be regarded with dismay by Chantonnay, who was aware of his master's aversion to foreigners. In vain, however, the ambassador hinted that her majesty would find a household ready to receive her in Spain ; and that the quantity of baggage required by such an army of attendants

¹ *Négociations et Lettres sous le règne de François II., p. 131.*

would delay the queen's journey, especially as the weather had become severe, and the roads blocked with snow—Catherine from some unexplained motive persisted in her design. Suzanne de Bourbon, countess de Harcourt and de Rieux,¹ and madame de Clermont-Lodève² were appointed chief ladies of honour. Anne de Bourbon, Elizabeth's favourite friend, was nominated maid of honour with mesdemoiselles de Riberac, de Curton, de Thorigny, de Noyan, de Montal, de St. Ana, and de St. Legier. Madame de Vineux, with mesdemoiselles de Gironville, Parue, and de la Motte, were gratified with the post of bedchamber women. The queen was attended by her principal tirewoman, Claude Nau. She had also, three chaplains; a French confessor; and likewise her old preceptor the abbé St. Etienne. One André de Vermont was nominated her chief maître-d'hôtel. Her physician in ordinary, Burgensis, accompanied her into Spain, with Dunoir her surgeon, and two apothecaries. Elizabeth had a numerous suite of gentlemen of the chamber; twelve valets-de-chambre; a dwarf Montaigne; twelve gentlemen-ushers; a treasurer of the household, one Emery Tissart; a treasurer of the privy

¹ Suzanne de Bourbon, daughter of Louis, prince de la Roche-Sur-Yon, and of Louise de Bourbon, sister of the great constable Charles duc de Bourbon. She married Claude, Sire de Rieux, de Rochefort et d'Ancenis, count de Harcourt.

² Louise de Bretagne, daughter of François d'Avaugour, ou de Bretagne, count de Vertus, and of Madelaine d'Astarac, of the house of Candale Captal de Buche, married, in 1542, Guy, baron de Castelnau et de Clermont-Lodève. Madame de Clermont became a widow, 1554. She was a lady of great virtue and learning.

purse ; and a band of six musicians. There was also nominated a staff for the kitchen department under Maître Vermont. She had, likewise, two French secretaries, besides an infinite number of subordinate personages such as tire-women, wardrobe-keepers and others.¹

The countess de Harcourt, or as she was generally called madame de Rieux, and her niece mademoiselle de Montpensier, being princesses of the blood, had moreover, their own train of attendants. When the list of this formidable host of personages, was placed in the hands of Chantonnay, the ambassador was confounded, for even his spirit of enterprise appeared beaten when it was required of him to find mode of transport over the Pyrenees in the depth of winter for such an assemblage, with provisions, and conveyance for the baggage. He, however, offered no positive objection : for Philip ardently desired to greet his bride ; the king being content, as he had himself intimated, “ to leave her suite to be afterwards disposed of by his sovereign decree.” Chantonnay wrote to his master a piteous statement of his embarrassments on the subject of the transport of the queen’s wardrobe and baggage ; first, however, giving Philip the pleasant assurance that his consort was on the eve of her departure, and that it was settled a portion of Elizabeth’s train was to go by sea. He says, “ the queen our sovereign, will leave this (the castle of

¹ Petit état que la Reyne Catholique a fait bailler à son grand maître. Négociations sous François II., p. 355.

Blois), upon the 17th, as the Christian queen her mother informs me. Her majesty was to have commenced her journey on the 12th, but could not, on account of the non-arrival of some ladies of her train. The very Christian king and queen accompany our sovereign to Châtellerault, and the queen-mother will probably travel forwards with her daughter as far as Poitiers, attended by the cardinal de Lorraine, and from thence she will return to this place, where the court purposes to spend the winter. The queen, our sovereign lady, is much troubled to ascertain how her wardrobe and other baggage can be conveyed over the Pyrenees, as all is packed in baskets, bullock waggons, and in coffers, the latter being twice as long, deep, and wide as those ordinarily used in Spain, so that neither empty nor full can they be conveniently carried by the wardrobe vans. The worst part of the matter is, that the apparel of her majesty being so very sumptuous, it cannot be packed without great damage into smaller coffers. Your majesty will advise whether it would not be expedient to embark all this said apparel at Bayonne, and convey it to the port of Spain nearest to Guadalajara; if so, it will be necessary for your majesty to send to Bayonne an ample supply of empty wardrobe baskets, and coffers, so that therein may be packed all that her majesty, and the ladies of her suite have occasion to wear during their journey.”¹ Chantonmay adds,

¹ Lettre de Chantonmay au Roi Catholique, MS., Simancas K., 1391 A., No. 9.—Inedited.

that if all the baggage was to accompany queen Elizabeth and her suite, his Catholic majesty must despatch a staff of pioneers to clear a road over the mountains from Bayonne to Pamplona.

From Blois, meanwhile, Elizabeth accompanied her family to Châtellerault, at which place the court occupied the castle belonging to the king of Navarre. She arrived there on the 25th day of November, attended by the ambassador Chantonnay, and by a portion of her suite. Her grief at quitting France and her mother was acute. Oppressed by the punctilious etiquette already exacted from her, and by her fear of displeasing king Philip, Elizabeth's spirit sank when she considered the responsibilities of her future position. The season had set in with unusual severity; and heavy falls of snow interrupted communication between the capital and the towns of southern France; yet Philip peremptorily insisted that his bride should no longer be detained. "*Sin falta ninguna la reyna nuestra Señora partirá mañana,*" wrote Chantonnay from Châtellerault to his impatient master. The following day, however, he addressed the king again, with many excuses, to state that Elizabeth had signified her intention to sojourn three days longer at Châtellerault; but that her majesty hoped by increasing the speed of her journey to the frontier, to arrive at Bayonne at the period fixed by Philip. "The reason of this delay, Sire, has been that this court could not bid adieu to her majesty, it being a great grief to all parties to take leave. It

had been decided that the queen dowager should accompany her daughter for three or four days from hence ; but this project is abandoned, that no impediment may be given on the road to her majesty's swift progress."¹ The heart of the young Elizabeth clung fondly to the land of her ancestors ; and as she successively took leave of their stately palaces, tears bedewed her cheeks. Often she asked her Spanish attendants, in a voice trembling with emotion, " if they had such splendid abodes to show her in Spain ?". When told of the glories of Valladolid, of Aranjuez, of El Pardo, and of the Alhambra, the queen answered with a sigh.²

Elizabeth's almost heart-broken farewell was made on the 29th day of November, when she set out for Poitiers. " Your majesty has already read from my despatch written from Châtellerault, of the departure hence of the queen our sovereign, after some delay which occurred because the king her brother and the queen-mother could not part from her. The farewell was not made without heavy plaints and sorrow, although all of them, if they please, are at liberty to follow her majesty. The same day, and at the same hour, the Christian king and queen quitted Châtellerault, in order to arrive at Amboise on the eve of St. Andrew's day."³

Accompanied by the king of Navarre, by the

¹ Lettre de Chantonnay au Roi Catholique, MS. Bibl. Imp.—Inedited.

² Cayet, Chronologie Novenaire. Brantôme.

³ Lettre de Chantonnay. M.S. Bibl. Imp.

cardinal de Bourbon, the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, her ladies of honour, and other attendants, Elizabeth halted first at Poitiers. The ambassador Chantonnay excused himself from attending the queen to the frontier, on account of the inclemency of the weather; as he was suffering from severe cold and rheumatism. On rising the following morning, Elizabeth's spirits were cheered by the arrival of a courier bringing her poetical epistles of farewell from queen Catherine, and Mary Stuart. The young queen shed many more tears on perusing these tributes of affection sent by her beloved mother, and by her old friend and playmate. Some expressive lines occur in the epistle written by Mary Stuart: she says—

“ Les pleurs font mal, au cœur joyeux et sain,
 Mais au dolent, ils servent quasi de pain :
 Car si le mal par les pleurs n'est allégé
 A tout moins il en est soulagé.”¹

Catherine's poem is very ingenious. The queen relates that after her daughter's departure, being exhausted with bitter weeping, she retired to bed, hoping there to find repose. But, “ *ma fille*—

“ L'Amour me vint en colère eveiller
 Disant : ‘ Ecris et prends la plume en main
 Sans t'excuser n'y attendre à demain ;
 Prendre ne peult ta fille en patience
 Cette trop longue et facheuse silence.’
 Je réponds quasi tout en dormant,
 ‘ J'ai tant escrit que je n'ay argument

¹ Epitre de Marie Stuart, royne de France, à madame Isabel, royne d'Espagne. MS., Bibl. Imp. Ancien F., Français, No. 7237.—Ined.

Pour bien écrire :’ il me répond : ‘ ne cesse,
 Jusques à ce que la pauvre princesse
 Soit jointe au bien-que tant elle désire :
 Alors ta main reposera d’écrire :
 Mais jusques-là, ta fille n’abandonne
 Et par escrit quelque plaiser luy donne.’ ”

Thus adjured, Catherine relates, how she immediately rose from her couch, and taking paper and pen placed herself before the open window to seek inspiration from the calm beauty of the night. Suddenly her ear was attracted by the murmur of plaintive melodies mingling with the sound of rustling leaves, and the musical dripping of cascades.

“ Avec eux la voix de la rivière
 Ouyé était par sa douce murmure.
 Alors mon couvre-chef je pris à détacher
 Et mon oreille ouvrir et approcher :
 Là j’entendis un mot piteux et bas,
 Toutes les voix en une, disant : ‘ Hélas !
 Hélas ! hélas ! or, l’avons nous perdue
 Car dessus nous ne tourne plus sa veue
 Cette beauté qui nous embellissoit,
 Cette vertu qui nous rejouissoit,
 Cette douceur, adoucissant nos fruits :
 Or sommes nous sans elle toutes détruites !’
 Si je sentis, de tel creatures,
 Un tel hélas ! croyez que ma nature
 Ne peult souffrir d’ouyr le demeurant
 Mais m’en revins en ma chambre courant
 Avec eux cryant : Hélas ! mon Dieu !
 Ramenez tôt en ce desolé lieu
 Celle que tout ciel et terre regrette
 Et que revoir incessamment souhaite !”¹

¹ Epître de Catherine de Medici, royne de France, à sa fille madame Isabel, royne d’Espagne. MS., Bibl. Imp. Ancien F. Français, No. 7237. Inedited.

At Bordeaux, Elizabeth was received by Jeanne d'Albret. This meeting was very consolatory to the queen : the strong mind, and gentle manners of the queen of Navarre, exercised a beneficial influence, and nerved her to encounter that ordeal Elizabeth so dreaded—her first interview with Philip II.

The queen of Spain entered Pau accompanied by the king and queen of Navarre, on the 20th day of December, and she spent Christmas day in their society. By command of queen Jeanne, Elizabeth's suite was regaled with royal hospitality. Part of the baggage of the ladies and cavaliers was forwarded, during this interval, to Bayonne for embarkation, as the weather having set in with unwonted severity, the mountain paths were deemed impassable for heavy vehicles of any description. Acting, however, on the counsel given by the ambassador Chantonnay, the king of Spain had sent a goodly convoy of sumpter mules, coffers, and other light conveyances to Bayonne;¹ so that by transferring a portion of the contents of Elizabeth's huge chests into more portable coffers, his bride and her ladies were enabled to appear in suitable splendour on their arrival in Spain.

¹ The supply sent by the king, and placed under the control of the condesa de Urueña, who had been nominated to the post of grand-mistress to Elizabeth, is as follows : fifty coffers borne by mules, and ten chests exclusively for the use of the queen ; seventeen coffers, in which there shall be conveyed ten beds, for the use of the ladies of her majesty's suite ; seventeen litters for the said ladies in case of necessity ; and four mules to draw the said litters.—Documentos Ineditos, t. II. p. 448.

On the frontiers, in expectation of Elizabeth's arrival, many of the noblest cavaliers of Spain were assembled. The ambassadors nominated by Philip to receive his consort, were the duque de Infantado,¹ and the cardinal archbishop of Burgos.² The duke of Alba took no part in the ceremonial of Elizabeth's reception, the king being either offended at the pertinacious resolve he showed to quit Paris; or, what is more probable, Philip had felt jealous umbrage at the closeness of the relation in which he stood towards the queen as his representative. The nomination of the duke de Infantado was regarded as a great compliment by the French court; for the house of Mendoza was distinguished for its attachment towards the Valois.

Nothing could surpass the splendour of the retinue and equipment of the Spanish grandees. The duke de Infantado, arrived at Pamplona on the 1st of January 1560; he was accompanied by his son, the marquis de Cenete, and by his grandson the count de Saldaña. The duke was attended by a body-guard of forty gentlemen-at-arms, arrayed in habits of cloth of gold slashed with crimson velvet. He had, moreover, ten gentlemen ushers, each decorated with a gold chain; also, twenty-five footmen clad in liveries of crimson velvet. The marquis de Cenete displayed

¹ Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, fourth duque de Infantado, marqués de Cenete y de Santillana, conde de Saldaña, Señor del Real de Mançanares. The revenue of the duke amounted to 100,000 ducats.

² Francisco de Mendoza, cardinal-archbishop of Burgos, brother of the duque de Infantado.

the same state, and was attended by an equal number of retainers. The cost of this retinue amounted to 1000 crowns daily, which sum was defrayed by the duke without aid from the royal exchequer. The cardinal Mendoza was also attended by forty pages clad in liveries of crimson velvet, and wearing scarlet scarfs, hose and caps. He had, moreover, fifty noble cavaliers and ecclesiastics in his suite, marshalled by his kinsman, the viscount de Gelves.

In the suite of the duke and the cardinal were, the dukes de Naxara,¹ and Francavilla, the counts of Tendilla,² Medica,³ Ribadavia; the marquises de Montes Claros, and de los Velez;⁴ the three brothers of the cardinal, noble cavaliers of the house of Mendoza; the count de Alba de Liste, who had been appointed grand-master of Elizabeth's household, and Don Gabriel de la Cueva, marquis de Cuello, eldest son of the duke de Alburquerque. The number of horses employed by these cavaliers, and their respective suites was computed at four thousand.⁵

As neither the cardinal nor the duke understood French sufficiently well to harangue the queen in her

¹ Head of the house of Manrique de Lara Acuna.

² Son of the marquis de Mondejar, of the house of Mendoza.

³ Eldest son of the duque de Medina de Rio Seco, chief of the house of Enriquez Cabrera.

⁴ Don Pedro Fasardo, marquès de los Velez y de la Musa, Adelantado de Murcia. This noble was highly favoured by king Philip. He possessed a revenue of 70,000 ducats.

⁵ La réception faites par les députez du roi d'Espagne à la royne leur souveraine dame. Publiée par Vincent Sertenas, 1559, à Paris. Also, Bibl. Imp., MSS. de Colbert, fol. 519.

own language, the bishop of Pamplona, and the doctor Malvenda, accompanied the ambassage as interpreter. "I am taking in my suite the bishop of Pamplona and el Doctor Malvenda, to write and to speak French, for neither my lord the duke, nor myself understand that language well enough to use it in negotiating affairs,"¹ writes the cardinal to Eraso, one of the secretaries of state. A commission, meantime, was issued with great formalities empowering the Mendoza to receive and escort the young queen. Philip drew up the instructions delivered to the ambassadors with his own hand. Elizabeth's journeys, their length, the ceremonies to be observed both by the queen, and the Spanish nobles were minutely indicated by the king. He ordered the duke de Infantado, and the cardinal Mendoza to ride the one on the right, and the other on the left of the queen's litter, and by no means to cede this their privilege. When her majesty made her entry into towns of note, the two ambassadors were to ride abreast, preceding her litter. The queen was directed to rise when she first received the ambassadors. She was to present her hand to the duke to kiss; but to give the *accolade* to the cardinal. When she first met the condesa de Urueña, her *camaréra-mayor*, the king requested Elizabeth, as the condesa was a lady of most illustrious birth, to greet her with a salute, and to offer her a cushion to repose on when in the royal presence. To the young

¹ Docum. Ineditos, t. III. p. 429. De Najara, 6 de Dec., 1559. Carta del arzobispo de Burgos, a Don Francisco de Eraso.

conde de Urueña, the most wealthy noble of the realm, Philip committed the entertainment of the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, a prince of the French blood royal. Philip, likewise, instructed his ambassadors to treat the French lords with the utmost respect and honour; he desires that precedence may everywhere be given to the cardinal de Bourbon, whom the king affected to regard as the chief personage in the suite of his consort, to the exclusion of king Antoine. He also directs that great honour may be paid to madame de Rieux; and that she shall not be molested in her prerogatives by the *camaréra-mayor*; but that all was to go smoothly until the arrival of Elizabeth at Guadalajara, "when his majesty will himself adjust the rival pretensions, if any, of each person in his consort's household."¹

Elizabeth arrived at St. Jean-de Pied-de-Port on the last day of December 1559. There she found the count de Ribadavia, don Lopez de Guzman her first maître-d'hôtel, and don Fadrique de Portugal her chief equerry, waiting her presence. Another convoy of three hundred and fifty sumpter mules bearing capacious coffers, and several litters, vouched for the gallant attention on the part of king Philip for the transport of a portion of his bride's sumptuous *trousseau*. The king likewise despatched the treasurer of his household with the sum of 12,000 silver ducats for the use of his young queen; the royal magnificence of

¹ Docum. Ineditos, t. III. Carta del rey Don Felipe II., à sus embajedo res el arzobispo de Burgos, y el duque de Infantado.

which gift inspired the French nobles with wonder, and admiration. The day following her arrival at St. Jean, Elizabeth laid aside her mourning garments, and arrayed herself in a black velvet robe, richly ornamented with *passementerie*, and a cap à l'*Espagnole*. It had been arranged that the ceremony of presenting Elizabeth to her husband's ambassadors should be performed at Pignon, a small place situated at equal distance between St. Jean and Roncesvalles ; but the rigour of the weather, and the exposed situation of the village on the summit of the Pyrenean chain, caused the design to be abandoned. On Wednesday the 3rd day of January, Elizabeth crossed the frontiers into Spain, and bade adieu to her much loved country. She travelled on horseback attended by the king of Navarre, the cardinal de Bourbon, the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, and the count de Ribadavia, and followed by her suite, some riding, others reposing in litters. The weather, during the first part of the journey, was clear and propitious. The cold, however, increased as Elizabeth ascended the mountains ; and her route was impeded by masses of snow, drifted along by a high wind ; or falling from the heights as quickly as her *avant-coureurs*, cleared a path.¹ When the cavalcade was

¹ Relation de ce qui se passa depuis l'arrivée de la royne à Pied-de-Port, jusques Pampelune. Négociations sous François II., p. 187. This is an anonymous letter filled with interesting details, written by a personage of Elizabeth's suite to the cardinal de Lorraine.

about the distance of a league from Roncesvalles, the snow began to fall with such swiftness, that the queen was compelled to rein in her palfrey, and seek a temporary shelter. Elizabeth suffered much from cold and fatigue, yet no persuasion could induce her to place herself in a litter. At length, after a toilsome march, an ascent was gained from whence the travelers gazed down upon the range of low-roofed buildings, forming the chapel, and the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Roncesvalles. Elizabeth and her cortège, tired and weather beaten, defiled through the pass de Valcarlos, and halted at the portal of the church, where the prior and brotherhood were assembled. To the right of the church porch stood a group of grandees, all of them enveloped in dark cloaks, which effectually prevented their recognition. The cavaliers had ridden post from Espinal, a village distant one league, to be the first to gaze upon their monarch's fair bride. These nobles whose rich attire of scarlet and gold attracted the eye, despite the sombre mantles which covered them, were the marquises de Cenete and de los Velez, and the counts de Medica and de Banieca.¹ It was observed that some hidden emotion brought a vivid colour into the cheeks of the young Elizabeth as she alighted from her horse with the assistance of the king of Navarre. Afterwards she acknowledged that one of her French attendants had whispered to her his belief that the foremost cavalier

¹ Heir of the conde de Miranda, Zuñiga y Baçan.

of the group, whose features were carefully hidden beneath a *sombrero*, was no less a personage than king Philip himself.

Preceded by the prior and brotherhood, Elizabeth entered the church, and advanced to the high altar. The nave and choir of the church, by the express orders of the king, had been carpeted with rich Persian carpets. The altar was brilliantly illuminated ; and melodious voices chanted portions of the choral services performed in the chapel of Mendoza, the great cardinal archbishop of Burgos, whose musical *savoir* was renowned throughout Spain. Censers emitting fragrant perfume were wafted round the queen, as she knelt before the altar in prayer. After some little interval, Elizabeth rose, and bowing to the concourse of personages which then filled the chapel, she disappeared through a door to the right of the altar, communicating with the interior of the monastery. "Then and there," says Elizabeth's gentleman usher, who relates these events in a despatch addressed to the cardinal de Lorraine,¹ "we speedily perceived that boldness, importunity and indiscretion reigned not more in France than in Spain ; for most of the Spanish gentlemen present made forcible entrance into the chamber, following thither her majesty, so that for long I could not clear the apartment." Elizabeth, after she had dismissed these intruders from her presence, dined in private with mesdames de

¹ Relation de ce qui se passa depuis l'arrivée de la royne à Pied-de-Port, &c. Négociations sous François II., p. 187.

Rieux and de Clermont, and then retired for the night.

The duke de Infantado, and the cardinal de Burgos with their train were lodged at Espinal. Soon after the queen's arrival at Roncesvalles, a courier was despatched thither by king Antoine to inform the duke that he should be prepared to fulfil the duties of his mission on the morrow, and deliver the queen their sovereign to their charge, which ceremony the king proposed should be performed in the open country between Roncesvalles and Espinal. The duke de Infantado returned a gracious assurance "that they would not fail her majesty at the rendezvous." The evening, however, set in with increased rigour. The snow fell heavily; and the wind, as the tempest raged, drifted large masses together, so as almost to choke up every avenue to the sheltered valley in which the monastery stood. Late during the same evening, therefore, the king of Navarre, sent another messenger to Espinal with a letter for the duke de Infantado, to the effect, "that as the weather continued so unfavourable it would be more suitable for the Spanish ambassage to come to Roncesvalles on the morrow to receive their sovereign lady, rather than for her majesty to proceed half way over the bleak mountain district to meet them."¹ This proposition was extremely unpalatable to the Spaniards, who with ceremonious punctilio expected the French to meet

¹ La réception faite par les deputez du roi d'Espagne de la royne leur souveraine dame, publiée par Vincent Sertenas, 1559.

them half way. The duke, therefore, despatched the courier back on the following morning with the intimation, "that as it had been already resolved by both parties that the place of her majesty's reception should be the plain lying about a league and a half beyond Roncesvalles, it was there his intention of waiting her majesty's pleasure." This reply created great indignation amongst the French cavaliers. The king of Navarre, who believed that he had already conceded much by entering the territory of Upper Navarre while it acknowledged the sway of Spain, sent back word in reply, "that the weather being inclement as it was, it appeared but reasonable that the duke and his train of cavaliers should rather suffer from its rigour than their queen and mistress, who could only travel to be presented to the ambassadors of the king her husband in an open litter, in order that she might be seen by all. It was perfectly unreasonable and impossible, therefore, thus to expose a young and delicate woman. Moreover, that the duke de Infantado and his train would have to kneel to pay her majesty homage amid snows already more than three feet deep."¹ The duke de Infantado took no notice of this decisive message: therefore, during the whole of Thursday the 4th day of January, Elizabeth remained the guest of the prior of Roncesvalles. She dined publicly in the refectory of the monastery; and all were admitted to gaze at her majesty during the

¹ Relation de ce qui se passa depuis l'arrivée de la royne à Pied-de-Port. Négociations sous François II., p. 187.

repast, including many Spanish cavaliers less obdurate than their chief. After dinner, when the queen had retired, much merry parlance ensued between the French ladies and the Spaniards.

Very melancholy, however, were the hours to Elizabeth, spent while abiding in the solitude of the bleak Pyreneean monastery, her first resting place in the land over which she was called to reign. The catastrophe which had darkened the rejoicings for her marriage; her recent separation from a mother who was beloved with ardent affection, and the almost positive terror with which she regarded her betrothed husband, might well combine to sadden the spirit of Elizabeth, and to fill her eyes with sorrowful tears. In her own touching lines she thus describes her distress and conflicting emotions in an epistle to her mother :

“ Or, entendez, Madame, le grand tourment
Que j’ai senty en ce departement ;
Pour deux amours qui ne me furent qu’une
Je suis en deux, car l’une m’importune
En me voulant presenter patience,
Me remettant l’agréable plaisance
Et le plaisir de voir un mari.
Mais quoi ! mon cœur encore trop marry
Ne le veult point avoir ni recevoir !
Car cette amour de naturel devoir
Je sens si forte que si l’autre j’accepte
Aucunes fois soudain je la rejette !”¹

Neither the sorrow of her own bereavement, nor the political crisis which demanded Catherine’s best

¹ Epitre d’Isabel royne^e d’Espagne, à sa mère Catherine de Medici. Ancien F. François, No. 7237.—Ined.

energies, rendered her unmindful of the distress which oppressed her favourite daughter. Throughout her route, her mother's letters consoled and supported Elizabeth; while the endearing epithets which Catherine lavished, made her the more bitterly regret the home she was quitting. In a poetical epistle written by Catherine, and which Elizabeth received at Pau, before her departure for Roncesvalles, the queen thus responds to her daughter's expressions of grief at their separation:

"Dont pour vous, ma fille, je prie Dieu
 Et du profond de moy a luy crie,
 Le suppliant qu'il vous soit mère et père,
 Mari, ami; et qu'en tout temps prospère
 Veuille changer cette nuit remplie d'ennuis
 Et en clair jours tourner vos noires nuits,
 En rapportant à mes yeux la lumière
 Et le plaisir de ma joye première,
 Par qui j'acquis le nom de mère heureuse
 En me donnant fille si vertueuse!"¹

The following morning brought a somewhat favourable variation in the temperature of the weather; and instead of snow-flakes, rain descended in torrents. Elizabeth, remembering her mother's injunctions, that she should conciliate the Spaniards, and especially the nobles of the court, thought it prudent to avoid, if possible, giving cause of offence to the potent house of Mendoza, by a too rigid maintenance of her sovereign dignity; especially as she was ignorant whether the refusal of the duke de Infantado to

¹ Epitre de Catherine de Medici, à sa fille Isabel, royne d'Espagne. Ancien F. François, No. 7237.—Ined.

advance to Roncesvalles, was not in obedience to the express mandate of Philip. The king of Navarre was, therefore, summoned by the young queen, who informed Antoine that it was her intention to proceed forthwith to the spot which it had pleased her lord and sovereign, king Philip, to select for her reception by his ambassadors.¹ This order was not obeyed without much reluctance by Antoine and his cavaliers, who feared lest the effect of their gorgeous equipages would be marred by the weather ; but like her mother, Elizabeth knew both how to command, and to maintain her behests. The royal litter, after much murmuring and delay, was at length brought forth. Madame de Clermont and the ladies entered closed chariots ; while the cavaliers, on horseback, who were already nearly drenched to the skin by the falling torrents, impatiently waited the presence of Elizabeth. To brighten the cheerless prospect, the prior and monks of Roncesvalles opened the portal of their church, so that the melodious notes of their parting benediction might be heard by all. Elizabeth was on the point of descending from her apartment to commence her dreary progress, when suddenly a file of horsemen appeared in the distance, riding along the mountain-path, which led from Espinal to Roncesvalles. The horsemen wore the colours of Mendoza, and were headed by Don Lopez de Gusman, major-domo of the queen's house-

¹ Relation de ce qui se passa depuis l'arrivée de la royne à Pied-de-Port. Négociations sous François II., p. 187.

hold, and by Raymond de Tarsis, chief of the couriers employed on the line of route between Bayonne and Pamplona. These personages brought a message from the duke de Infantado, to the effect, "that their Excellencies the duke and the cardinal would arrive at Roncesvalles within the space of half-an-hour, in obedience to the summons which had been sent to them by queen Isabel." The duke, upon reflection, probably thought it more politic to deviate somewhat from the strict injunctions as to place and ceremonial sent him by his royal master, than to incur the displeasure of the queen, whose influence over her consort was, at least, certain first to prove in the ascendant. Elizabeth, therefore, retired to her apartments, attended by her ladies, to exchange her travelling attire for the robes of ceremony prepared for the occasion of her first interview with her husband's ambassadors, but which the inclemency of the weather had compelled her to lay aside.

The noblemen of the queen's suite, meantime, abandoned their horses to array themselves for the ceremonial. The greatest confusion prevailed everywhere. The mules of burden were standing ready laden to depart with the arras, and the canopy of Elizabeth's presence chamber. These hangings, therefore, had to be hastily unpacked ; while by the command of the king of Navarre, his officers prepared the lower hall of the monastery, that the ambassadors might there present the written powers given them by Philip. This hall was hung

with drapery of black cloth embossed with the arms of Béarn and Navarre, as the French were still in mourning for their deceased king, Henry II. The most provoking *contretemps*, however, happened ; in the confusion, the coffers conveying the wardrobe of the ladies of Elizabeth's suite were sent forwards to Pamplona, under the supposition that the chests contained her majesty's table linen and plate. Philip's considerate instructions that the portion of his bride's wardrobe which was not shipped at Bayonne should follow, and not precede her, contributed essentially to Elizabeth's personal comfort at this juncture, and subsequently during her journey.

Scarcely was half of the preparation complete, before another courier arrived to announce that the duke de Infantado, and the cardinal archbishop, attended by a great train were within a league of the monastery. The cardinal de Bourbon, accompanied by the bishops of Seéz and Oléron, and by the count de Burie, and followed by three hundred cavaliers, entered the hall of reception. The cardinal placed himself under a canopy surmounted by the arms of Béarn ; while the nobles formed a line on each side, from the *dais* to the portal of the hall. The king of Navarre, during this interval, repaired to the presence chamber of the queen, which was above the hall where the ambassadors were first to be received. Elizabeth soon appeared, followed by her ladies. Before taking her place for the last time beneath the banner of the lilies of France, the queen requested

that she might visit the chapel of the monastery, where the prior and his monks waited the arrival of the Spanish ambassadors. For a few brief minutes Elizabeth knelt in prayer before the high altar, the king of Navarre standing behind her; she then rose and giving her hand to the king returned to her chamber.

The weather, meantime, continued unpropitious; the wind abated not, and a drizzling shower of sleet and rain obscured the atmosphere. The lower apartments of the monastery, consequently, became so dark before the arrival of the Spanish embassy, that the cardinal de Bourbon commanded an illumination of torches and flambeaux. Some of these torches were borne by retainers of the noblemen there assembled; while others were bound to the columns which supported the roof of the hall. Order was scarcely restored, when a great clamour without announced the arrival of the ambassadors and their *cortège*. The duke travelled on horseback, attended by his suite of pages and gentlemen; the cardinal Mendoza in a closed litter, the condition of his health being at this season too precarious to admit of exposure to the keen mountain blasts. As the ambassadors alighted, a burst of martial music announced their arrival; and the choir of the chapel of Roncesvalles sang *Te Deum Laudamus*. Five-and-twenty gentlemen of the duke's body-guard bearing white wands preceded the ambassadors; next walked the representatives of some of the noblest houses of

Spain, marching two and two. Then followed the cardinal archbishop and the duque de Infantado. The former was arrayed in his rochet and pontifical vestments; the duke wore a habit of blue brocade richly furred with sable. As the illustrious party entered the hall, the cardinal de Bourbon quitted the *dais*, and advanced a few steps towards Philip's representatives; after much ceremonious greeting, the duque de Infantado and the two cardinals placed themselves beneath the canopy; while the king's warrant commanding his envoys to meet, greet, and honourably escort to his presence his beloved consort, Doña Maria Isabel de Valois, was read aloud to the great edification of the assemblage.¹ The cardinal de Bourbon then announced that the king of Navarre had received commission from the Christian king to deliver his majesty's sister to the care of the ambassadors of her sovereign lord, Philip, king of Spain; and that the Catholic queen waited their presence in her chamber of audience.²

Meantime, while these courtesies were exchanged, the concourse of personages being too great to permit all to witness the ceremonial, an unseemly invasion was made into the presence chamber of the queen. Elizabeth sate under a canopy of state, having the king of Navarre and the prince de la Roche-sur-

¹ Documentos Ineditos, t. III. — amongst which this document is included.

² Relation de se qui se passa depuis l'arrivée de la royne à Pied-de-Port, &c. Lettre de Lansac à la royne-mère — Négociations sous François II.

Yon on her right. Madame de Rieux, mademoiselle de Montpensier, and madame de Clermont were seated at her left hand; the remaining members of her majesty's suite, forming a semi-circle on either side of the dais. Behind the queen's chair stood Don Lopez de Guzman, major-domo of her household, whose office it then was to name the various personages of the Spanish court to his royal mistress as they advanced to kiss her hand.

The eagerness of the Spaniards to behold their new sovereign was so great, that all form and precedence seemed forgotten, as one noble and then another knelt at the dais, and kissed the hand which Elizabeth graciously extended to all—the marquises of Denia and Cenete, and the count of Ribadavia exhibiting the greatest degree of enthusiasm in their homage. When the ceremonial concluded below, and the duke de Infantado and the two cardinals ascended to Elizabeth's presence chamber, the throng of cavaliers became so greatly increased as to set all decorum at defiance. The circle round the royal dais was broken; and a scene of most uncourtly confusion ensued, all the Spanish cavaliers crowding forwards together to gaze on the queen. The French ladies, excepting the princesses who occupied seats under the canopy of state, were compelled to retire, having suffered much inconvenience from the crush.¹ Could Philip have witnessed the disorderly aspect which his

¹ L'Huillier, secrétaire de la royne Elizabeth au cardinal de Lorraine. *Négociations, &c., sous François II.*, p. 179.

consort's presence chamber then exhibited, he would with difficulty have believed that before him stood the same stately band of cavaliers whose deportment at the *besaménos* of Valladolid displayed such exemplary decorum !

“During this scene of confusion, our gracious princess,” wrote the French chronicler and eye-witness of the ceremonial,¹ “sat upright with great dignity beneath her canopy of state ; the expression of her countenance denoting gravity and self-possession, yet beaming with such benevolence that there was not one of that courtly throng, who although he had heard of her high repute in all matters, deemed not her majesty to be more excellently accomplished than any might expect.” The cardinal de Bourbon and the Spanish ambassadors, after a most toilsome progress, at length reached her majesty's presence. Throughout the ceremonies the cardinal Mendoza had taken the place of honour—his great wealth, and ecclesiastical rank, commanding even more influence at the court of Philip than that possessed by his brother, the chief of the Mendoza. Elizabeth rose and advanced a step as the duke and the cardinal approached ; and it was observed that the colour varied on her cheek, and that her self-possession was not so entire as before. When they arrived at the steps of the dais, the duke de Infantado anticipating the cardinal, secured the *pas*, and kneeling at Elizabeth's footstool,

¹ L'Huillier, secrétaire de la royne Elizabeth au cardinal de Lorraine. *Négociations, &c.*, sous François II., p. 179.

kissed her hand. The queen bestowed the accustomed greeting, and then motioned to the duke to rise, and take his seat in a chair of state placed on the left of the dais. The cardinal Mendoza, much disconcerted at having been thus intercepted in his *devoirs*, next advanced and would have knelt; but Elizabeth with the utmost grace, again stepped forwards and refusing to accept this mode of homage from the prelate, she bent, and touched his forehead with her lips; then desiring the ambassadors to be covered, she returned to her seat.

When the ambassadors had saluted the king of Navarre, and the princesses, the cardinal Mendoza rose from his chair, and advancing before the queen, said: "Madame, the king, our sovereign and lord, has conferred the honour and favour to select us to welcome your majesty in his name to these realms, and to assure your majesty that the subjects of the said king our master, have never experienced so great a gratification as to hail you, madame, for their queen, lady, and mistress. As for ourselves, madame, personally, our House may be indeed deemed at the summit of felicity to have been chosen for this office, and to render you service; to accomplish which things we have placed, and for the future do place our lives at your majesty's disposal." The baron de Lansac replied in the Spanish tongue, "that he had received a command from her Catholic majesty to assure the ambassadors that amongst the greatest of the favours which she had received from the king, her lord and spouse, her majesty deemed most eminent the choice

which he had made of personages to receive her on her arrival in Spain, for which she would not fail to thank his majesty. Moreover, her majesty would always remember that through the loyal service of the House of Mendoza, she had entered into possession of her kingdom, and had been conducted into the presence of the king, her lord and husband ; for which service she felt so great an obligation that henceforth in all matters the ambassadors would find her their gracious queen, to which title the future might moreover add, that of their friend. Finally, her majesty regretted much the trouble they had taken to do her service ; and that the inclemency of the weather had compelled her to detain them for so long a period.”¹

The duke de Infantado then rose, and addressing the king of Navarre, requested him to fulfil the object of his embassy, and deliver the queen their sovereign lady to their guardianship — the duke presenting, as before, the warrant signed by king Philip. “Messeigneurs,” promptly responded king Antoine, “in obedience to the command which I received from their Christian majesties, I deliver to you this princess, whom I have taken from the family of the greatest monarch in Christendom, to be presented by you to the most illustrious sovereign of the world. I know that you have been discreetly chosen by the king, your master, to receive charge of her ; nor do I doubt that you will worthily acquit your-

¹ Lettre de Lansac au cardinal de Lorraine. *Négociations, &c.*, sous François II., p. 171.

selves of this trust. I therefore confidently resign my office into your hands, praying you at the same time to take singular care of her health, for she merits to be the object of such regard. Moreover, messeigneurs, I would advertise you that never has Spain before received so perfect a model of virtue and grace, as all of you will hereafter acknowledge.” The king of Navarre, the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon and the cardinal de Bourbon then bent the knee, and kissing Elizabeth’s hand, bade her farewell. Elizabeth’s fortitude forsook her at this crisis, and rising, she glanced with tearful eyes upon her countrymen, while she tried to utter a few words which were audible only to the king of Navarre. The cardinal Mendoza then advanced to the side of the queen; raising his hands over the fair head, bowed in sorrow so intense, he intoned the versicle, “*Audi filia et vide inclina aurem tuam;*” the archdeacon of Toledo his brother, responding, “*obliviscere populum tuum, et domum patris tui.*” On hearing these words, which seemed to sever her from all she loved on earth, the tears, hitherto so courageously repressed, streamed down Elizabeth’s cheeks, and in an agony of grief she threw herself into the arms of the king of Navarre and sobbed aloud.² Aghast at so flagrant a violation of etiquette, the duke de Infantado glanced uneasily

¹ Lettre de Lansac au cardinal de Lorraine. Négociations, &c., sous François II., p. 171. Brantôme — Vie d’Elizabeth de Valois, royne d’Espagne.

² Brantôme—Vie d’Elizabeth de Valois. Cayet.

round the apartment; then taking the hand of the queen, he tried to lead her from the dais, uttering at the same time words of surprise, that her majesty should condescend to so great familiarity with the king of Navarre. A few minutes sufficed to restore composure to the queen; for Elizabeth had heard the duke's remonstrance, and resented his interference. Glancing proudly round, she withdrew her hand from the duke, and summoned the baron de Lansac. Elizabeth then herself bade him explain in Spanish that "she had chosen to embrace the king of Navarre and his brother, the cardinal de Bourbon, because the queen her mother had bidden her to so do, for the twofold reason that they were her near kinsmen and princes of the blood; and because such was the custom in France."¹ The duke de Infantado acknowledged this declaration by a profound obeisance. Followed by her ladies, Elizabeth then descended from the dais; for most of the cavaliers at a sign from the duke had quitted the apartment, and surrounded the litter which was to convey the queen to Rasuin. The duke de Infantado placed himself on the left hand of the queen, and the cardinal on her right; and thus escorted, Elizabeth, attended by the king of Navarre, the cardinal de Bourbon and others, descended to the portal of the monastery, and entered her litter accompanied by madame de Rieux, her first lady of honour. Cere-

¹ L'Huillier, secrétaire de la royne Elizabeth au cardinal de Lorraine. *Négociations, &c., sous François II.*

monious farewells were interchanged between the king of Navarre and the Spanish ambassadors; the *cortège* then set forth; and amid a prolonged flourish of trumpets, Elizabeth quitted the hospitable monastery of Roncesvalles.

The cavalcade was preceded by a train of pioneers to remove the snow, and other obstructions from the mountain paths to Rasuin. A temporary lodging had been prepared in this village for Elizabeth to spend the night. As the distance from Roncesvalles was little more than a league, this space was soon traversed. The queen was handed from her litter by the cardinal archbishop, and immediately retiring to the apartments prepared for her, she admitted no one to her presence that night excepting her French ladies.

The courtesies of the ambassadors were, meantime, unsurpassed. Every two or three hours they despatched a page to enquire after her majesty's health. The ladies who had lost their wardrobes were furnished as far as possible with every requisite for their comfort; folding beds were sent to all, with an abundant supply of exquisite meats and *bonbons*. The cardinal Mendoza, moreover, gave a grand entertainment to the French and Spaniards in the queen's train, to which all the guests were invited in Elizabeth's name. The grand chamber and the anti-room to Elizabeth's apartment were crowded with gentlemen and pages, clad in the colours and liveries of Mendoza. The gallant cardinal, moreover, sent

a chandelier of silver to light the lower hall of the edifice ; while footmen of his household stood with wax flambeaux, ready to escort any lady who might desire to pass from the queen's apartment to that portion of the temporary edifice where the ambassadors were holding festival.

Thus passed the first night of Elizabeth's residence amongst her Spanish subjects. Often must her heart have reverted with regret to the land of her birth during the weary hours of her sojourn in the Pyrenees. Her dread of Philip was not decreased by the difficulties which she encountered ; and by the knowledge that the most trivial incident connected with her journey, even to her own deportment, and that of the ambassadors, had been dictated by the king himself. The Spaniards, nevertheless, were charmed with the grace and gentleness of Elizabeth's manners ; and predicted that her empire over the affections of king Philip would be entire. "To look at our most august princess," complacently observed some of the Spanish nobles, "it might be believed in witnessing such rare perfection, that she had been created and reserved from the beginning by the prescience of Providence, until such time as it seemed good to Him to bestow her in marriage upon him who now reigns, our mighty king."¹ Already, before she had proceeded many leagues through her husband's territories, the Spaniards hailed Elizabeth by the title of "Isabel de la paz, y de la bondad !"

¹ Brantôme, *Dames Illustres*. Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

Early on the morning following her arrival at Rasuin, mass was performed before the queen prior to her departure thence. The duke de Infantado and the cardinal attended her majesty. The cardinal had a chair covered with velvet provided for his use, and a cushion to kneel upon; while the duke was accommodated only with a stool draped with velvet, without back or arms; "such," wrote the French ambassador, "was the etiquette which we learned on this occasion."

Throughout their journey in Spain, the ambassadors in Elizabeth's suite expressed surprise at the state and precedence assumed by the cardinal over his kinsman the duke, chieftain of the princely Mendozas. It was a part, however, of Philip's system to heap external honours on the prelates of his realm, and to give them precedence at court before the loftiest of his grandees. Such a course checked the arrogance of his nobles; while it entertained popular veneration for the priesthood—an influence which the king found useful as an engine of government, though, in reality, no monarch lived less under the temporal sway of the Church. Devout, and superstitious as he was, Philip never became enslaved by the confessional. He was ready to lavish adulation and countless wealth on the Church, provided that religion moulded its requirements to his own preconceived theories. Like his father, the emperor—who, when pope Clement VII. was a captive, and suffering from the contumelious treatment of the

Imperial generals, ordered public prayers to be addressed to Heaven for the pontiff's release, a petition, which his own sign manual might have fulfilled. Philip bowed before the papacy, while he derided its temporal enactments, and even remorselessly committed to the flames documents sealed with the sacred signet of St. Peter. The will of the sovereign being the rule of his conscience, the prelates of Spain found it expedient to conform to the prejudices of the king; to admit tacitly that the infallible Head of the Church might err in his appreciation of temporal concerns; to adopt the royal views respecting certain irregularities in which the king indulged, and his opinions on the irresponsibility of princes—and in return, receive distinction, pre-eminence and power.

After the king's confessor, Fray Diego de Chaves, and the chief Inquisitor Valdez, archbishop of Seville, the cardinal Mendoza was the leading ecclesiastic of the court. His wealth, princely bearing, and love of literature, were renowned; while so varied were his conversational powers, that in his society even Philip's manner became animated, and his brow lost somewhat of its gloom. The sonorous voice of the cardinal, moreover, is greatly lauded; and the melody and science of his choral services in the cathedral of Burgos were celebrated throughout Spain.

The cardinal being extremely proud of his vocal proficiency, and wishing to display his talent, insisted on performing a part of the mass which was chanted

before the queen quitted Rasuin. The service being concluded, the queen dined: she then entered her litter and proceeded to Basasuain, another village, situated about six miles from Pamplona. The following day, the 7th of January, Elizabeth made her entry into the capital of Navarre, seated, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, in an open litter, and attended by madame de Rieux. The cardinal Mendoza rode on the right of the litter, and the duke de Infantado on the left. Elizabeth was attired in a robe of black velvet embroidered with silver and pearls. Her hair was dressed in Spanish fashion; and she wore a small velvet toque beset with rare jewels.

Before her departure for Pamplona, Elizabeth received a missive from the king of Navarre, by a courier whom Antoine despatched on his arrival at Bayonne, to enquire after the queen's welfare and to carry provisions for her majesty's French retinue; the magnitude of which proved a source of equal astonishment and discomfiture to Philip's purveyors during their sojourn on the desolate Pyrenean range.

Great preparations, meanwhile, had been made in Pamplona for the reception of the queen. As she approached, a salute of artillery, and the bells of the churches gave her majesty joyous welcome. At a short distance from the town, the count de Lerin, constable of Navarre, chief of the noble house of Beaumont, appeared, surrounded by the civic authorities. The magistrates were arrayed in their robes of office—

black velvet embroidered with silver, having pendent sleeves lined with blue damask. Before them marched six inferior officers, bearing silver maces. The constable of Navarre advanced to the side of the queen's litter, and delivered a short address to which the baron de Lansac replied; as Elizabeth, although she understood Spanish, did not yet speak it with facility. The count de Lerin kissed her majesty's hand, an honour likewise extended to the authorities of the town; he then took his place amongst the French and Spanish cavaliers following the litter. Next appeared the duke de Albuquerque, the viceroy of the kingdom of Navarre, to offer homage to Elizabeth. The duke was preceded by two thousand soldiers fully equipped, with flags, and banners unfurled. The *cortège* halted, while the troops ranged themselves in a semi-circle, leaving space for the approach of the viceroy. In the suite of the duke were the members of the royal council of state, amongst whom was the marquis de Cortez, marshal of Navarre, and others of the chief nobility. The duke dismounted from his horse, and with a low obeisance approached the queen. Elizabeth stood up in her litter, and replied in French to his congratulations on her safe arrival, and thanked him for the trouble he had taken to do her honour. The duke then delivered a short address of welcome in the name of the nobles, and inhabitants of Navarre, to which the baron de Lansac briefly replied, as the

¹ Don Loysa de la Cueva, marquès de Cuello, conde de la Desma.

cold was becoming intense. The cavalcade then proceeded, passing under an elaborate arcade composed of fir trees and of branches of box interwoven with ivy, and holly berries, to the principal gate of the town. The children of the chief citizens of the *muy leal y gloriosa ciudad de Pamplona* were ranged on either side of this verdant arcade, and gave her majesty as she passed most loyal greeting. The gate of the town was adorned with armorial devices, and effigies. In the distance was seen a bush composed of evergreen branches, from the midst of which, when her majesty appeared, issued a grand display of fireworks.

On her entrance into the town, the queen was received under a splendid canopy borne by six magistrates, who marched by the side of her litter, bareheaded, notwithstanding the severity of the weather. The canopy was composed of crimson satin, embroidered in gold with the initials F and I¹ interlaced with love-knots. The advance of the queen and her cortège to the cathedral was announced by a salvo of artillery; and the cheers of two battalions of soldiers placed as a guard of honour on the city walls. At the end of the street appeared another triumphal arch, surmounted by a figure of Peace with the motto: *Unio constans, fortis divisio flexa*. The grand point of the city decorations, however, was a magnificent arch which spanned the street in front of the cathedral. This arch was com-

¹ Felipe y Isabel.

posed of evergreen boughs interlaced with ribbons bearing mottoes, and by wreaths of amaranths. On its summit stood a colossal statue of king Philip. The statue was flanked by shields emblazoning the armorial bearings of the Houses of Hapsburg and Villefranche. Below was a smaller shield with the initials F and I intertwined with love-knots, the whole surrounded by a ribbon having the words inscribed in letters of gold: *Philippo Hispaniarum Regi Catholico : et Ysabellæ Catholicæ Reginae.*"

As the queen descended from her litter, at the portal of the cathedral, the streets and houses around suddenly flamed forth with brilliant illuminations. The interior of the cathedral presented a blaze of light, as her majesty advanced to the high altar, preceded by the cardinal Mendoza, the bishop of Pamplona, and a train of priests chanting canticles. The duke de Infantado led the queen. Elizabeth looked pale and fatigued ; which was a circumstance not to be wondered at, considering the severity of the weather, and the tedious length of the ceremony to which she had been subjected. The queen said a short prayer before the image of St. Firmin, the tutelar saint of Pamplona ; she then passed through the beautiful cloisters, and returned to her litter.

The cavalcade proceeded next to the Episcopal palace, where Elizabeth was to repose for two days. Before she left the cathedral, darkness had set

² Relation de ce qui se passa depuis l'arrivée de la royne à Pied-de-Port. Négociations, etc., p. 187.

in, and the personages of her escort were compelled to carry flambeaux. The street, however, round the palace was light as at noon-day, with the blaze of torches, fireworks, and illuminations as her majesty stepped from her litter. In the grand hall of the palace, an assemblage of ladies awaited the queen; behind these fair dames stood a triple row of cavaliers; and beyond, again, sheltered by the dark arras hangings, peered forth another line of faces. The queen entered, walking between the cardinal Mendoza, and the duke de Infantado, her train borne by madame de Clermont. Madame de Rieux, and her niece, mademoiselle de Montpensier, followed, walking together, the trains of these royal ladies being carried by pages wearing the colours of Bourbon. Next followed two and two, the French nobles in Elizabeth's suite; afterwards came the Spanish grandees, who had escorted her majesty from Roncesvalles. At the foot of the grand staircase, apart from the rest, stood a brilliant group of ladies—those who had been appointed to offices in the household of the queen. Foremost appeared Doña Maria de la Cueva, condesa de Urueña. *camaréra-mayor*, a lady who possessed, in a high degree, the confidence and favour of King Philip. The countess, who was a widow, wore a robe of black velvet; her train was supported by two very young pages. A step behind the countess stood her son, the duke de Osuna, chief of the princely house of Giron; on her left were two of her daughters, the duchess de Naxara, and Doña Ana, consort of Don

Pedro Fasardo, eldest son of the marquis de los Velez ; both these ladies having been appointed by the king to posts about the person of his young consort. The countess advanced alone towards the queen ; after she had been presented by her brother, the duke de Alburquerque, she knelt and kissed Elizabeth's hand. The queen stooped and embraced the countess and with many courteous words, she bade her rise. The countess, who had the repute of being perfectly versed in matters relating to courtly etiquette, obeyed. She then saluted madame de Rieux and mademoiselle de Montpensier, and presented her two beautiful daughters to the queen, who cordially embraced them both. Preceded by the condesa, Elizabeth entered the grand saloon, her train being still carried by madame de Clermont. The Spanish ladies were next introduced, and had the honour of kissing her majesty's hand. This ceremony being concluded, the countess de Urueña demanded a brief audience to deliver a letter from king Philip. Wearied as she felt, Elizabeth was compelled to comply, and to follow her stately *camaréra* to the chamber prepared for her. The countess then presented the letter from Philip. The king commenced his epistle, with expressions of the warmest affection for his young consort, describing his anxiety for her society in vivid language. He then informed her " that it had been his sovereign pleasure to nominate the condesa de Urueña, one of the most illustrious ladies in Spain, to the office of her *camaréra-mayor* ; he

therefore prayed her, out of love for him to give the said countess so good and condescending a treatment, that she might have every reason for wishing to continue in her service. "Madame," said Elizabeth, with gracious promptness, when she had finished perusing the king's letter, "I feel singular satisfaction that it has pleased my lord, the king, to appoint to do me service, so honourable and virtuous a lady as yourself. I purpose, madame, to avail myself of your offers of devotion; and to receive your counsels with the same deference, as I would pay to the advice of the queen, my mother."¹ Elizabeth then expressing a desire to repose, the countess withdrew, promising to return in a short time to conduct her majesty to supper, at which repast the public was to be admitted.

The countess de Urueña, whom the king of Spain had chosen to fill the principal office in the household of his youthful queen, possessed, perhaps, more influence over Philip's mind than any other lady of the court, the princess of Eboli excepted. She had been the second wife of the count de Urueña, an old and favoured courtier, who had feasted with the emperor, Charles V; and who, like his imperial master, had been a martyr to gout, and to all other ailments consequent upon an unrestrained indulgence of the appetite. The enormous wealth of the count,²

¹ Lansac à M. le cardinal de Lorraine. *Néociations*, etc., sous François II.

² The count de Urueña had a revenue of 120,000 ducats—the ducat

who was the richest noble in Spain, and his influence at court procured him, when well advanced in years, the hand of the beautiful sister of the duke de Alburquerque, Doña Maria de la Cueva. The count died a few months after the emperor, leaving three children by Doña Maria, a son and two daughters. On Philip's accession, one of his first acts of royal grace was to create the young count de Urueña, duke of Osuna and to appoint him chamberlain to the prince Don Carlos. The countess, at the period when she received the appointment of *camaréra-mayor* to Elizabeth de Valois, had nearly completed her fiftieth year. She was a woman of ready tact, ambitious and haughty. By a show of religion, united to great deference towards the king, she had secured considerable power at court. The countess retained much personal beauty; her figure was commanding; while her knowledge of etiquette, and her devotion to his interest at once recommended her to the king, as the personage to whose guidance it would be judicious to commit his young consort. The condescensions of the countess de Urueña, however, were far from being acceptable to the French; and her supercilious deportment towards the ladies of the queen's train, even during their brief sojourn at Pamplona, laid the foundation for the subsequent *tracasseries* which embittered the early days of Elizabeth's residence in Spain.

being nine and sixpence English currency—money having, in those days, nearly fifteen times its present value.

Great lamentations, meanwhile, commenced during the queen's repose, amongst her ladies. It was ascertained that no tidings had been heard of the convoy of sumpter mules despatched by mistake from Roncesvalles with their wardrobe coffers; while nothing more consolatory could be elicited from the Spaniards excepting the surmise, that the convoy had strayed from the beaten track, into the snowy solitudes of the Pyrenees; or had, perhaps, been precipitated over some precipice during the storm which set in soon after it quitted Roncesvalles. Several weeks subsequent to the departure of Elizabeth and her retinue, the convoy reached Pamplona, after a dangerous and tedious progress over the mountains, then almost impassable from the accumulation of snow. The French ladies, in their emergency, were compelled to content themselves with the aid which could be afforded them by their Spanish colleagues; comforting themselves with the hope that more prosperous would be the result of the shipment of their effects made at Bayonne by the command of king Philip.

When the queen made her appearance in the hall previous to the banquet, the countess de Urueña approached to fulfil, without delay, the functions of *camaréra-mayor*. Madame de Clermont, therefore, anxious to conciliate so potent a personage, forthwith resigned the office she had hitherto performed, of bearing the queen's train. Addressing the countess, madame de Clermont said, "that by the favour of

the queen of France, she hitherto had had the honour of attending her Catholic majesty ; but, that on arriving at Pamplona she had received commands from queen Catherine, to yield that honourable office to the *camaréra*, and, moreover, to inform that said personage, that the household of the queen of Spain was placed, henceforth, under her control in obedience to the will of king Philip." The countess graciously responded, " that she was the humble servant of her Catholic majesty, and trusted to become the good friend of madame de Clermont." She then took possession of the queen's train after offering to cede the honour to madame de Rieux ; the latter coldly declined to interfere with the countess's prerogative, which afterwards, upon every occasion, she exercised with great show of authority.¹

Elizabeth sojourned two whole days in Pamplona, where she was entertained by a bull-fight on a miniature scale, which she witnessed from the windows of the palace. One day the queen partook of a collation of sweetmeats and fruits in the apartments of the countess de Urueña. The latter paid great deference to the wishes of Elizabeth ; for Philip had issued stringent commands on this point. He highly disapproved, however, of the French suite, with which queen Catherine had insisted on surrounding her daughter ; and had instructed his own subjects to yield the *pas* to none excepting to the two princesses of Bourbon, madame de Rieux and her niece, made-

¹ Lansac au cardinal de Lorraine.

moiselle de Montpensier. The esteem in which Philip held his new consort was evidenced by his order that the House of Mendoza, its chieftain, and every cavalier of the court, who laid claim to that illustrious lineage, should proceed to the frontier to do her honour, and to escort her to his presence.

To partake of the collation offered to her by the condesa, Elizabeth attired herself in French fashion. The Spanish ladies were enchanted with the manners and the beauty of their new sovereign. Elizabeth remembering the instructions and the example of her royal mother, was careful to maintain her dignity. Catherine had diligently impressed upon her daughter's mind, that her prosperity in the regal career opening before her, depended, in the first place, upon her submission to the imperious will of the king, her husband; and, secondly, by so ruling her deportment, as to inspire the courtiers with respect and deference for her queenly rank. Queen Catherine had, moreover, advised her daughter to avoid familiar relations with the prince Don Carlos; but to place confidence alone in the French ambassador, and in the princess Doña Juana, Philip's sister, this latter being a friendship which would probably be highly gratifying to the king. Catherine, however, herself committed a grave error in sending her daughter to Spain attended by a French household; it naturally engendered ill feelings, when the Spaniards found all the offices to which they had been nominated in the household of their queen, pre-occupied; while

Elizabeth's French ladies and officers could not, in their turn, feel satisfied to see themselves utterly overlooked in the roll of the queen's attendants presented to her majesty at Pamplona by the countess de Urueña.

On the 10th of January, Elizabeth quitted Pamplona to continue her journey. Before she entered her litter, the queen commanded the baron de Lansac to carry a message to her *camaréra-mayor* to the effect, "that if the condesa wished to accompany her in her litter, her majesty would receive satisfaction; but, that should the countess prefer to travel in her own litter, the queen would command the attendance of one of her French ladies, madame de Clermont." Whether the countess was offended at this message, and construed it into a delicate mode of indicating Elizabeth's preference for the society of her old friend and governess, madame de Clermont; or whether she considerably wished, on this occasion, to indulge the desire which the queen naturally felt, to be attended by her own country-woman, she replied through de Lansac; "that she humbly thanked her majesty, and though she deemed her majesty's gracious offer, one of the highest honours she had ever received, yet, for the present time, she should decline it." Madame de Clermont, therefore, accompanied the queen. The condesa's displeasure, or the object which she had in view, in ceding the *pas* to the former, soon, however, became apparent. The litter containing madame de Rieux, and her

niece, Anne de Bourbon, followed that of the queen, in virtue of the royal rank of these ladies, who had attended Elizabeth into Spain, more in the capacity of companions, than as ladies of her household. The cavalcade was on the point of starting, escorted by the many illustrious personages in the suite of her majesty, when the footmen, surrounding the litter of the countess de Urueña, jostled so rudely against the attendants of the French princesses, as to throw their litter out of the procession, while that of the countess was forcibly brought forward, so as to follow next to that of the queen. Much confusion ensued, which the condesa refused to appease by disowning the violent proceedings of her attendants. The baron de Lansac, therefore, approached the queen, and explaining the cause of the unseemly dispute, requested her decision thereon. Elizabeth felt very indignant at this public insult, offered to two princesses of the blood of Bourbon, whose rank entitled them to precedence; and inexperienced as she was, she felt that the enterprising spirit of her *camaréra* must be checked, if she desired, hereafter, to possess the semblance of liberty. The queen, therefore, sent word to the condesa, through de Lansac, "that it would have been agreeable to her if the countess de Urueña had been pleased to ride in her litter, which she still gave her the option of doing, as the undoubted right of the *camaréra-mayor*. If, however, Doña Maria preferred to travel in her own litter, her majesty prayed her to be content that

madame de Rieux and mademoiselle de Bourbon, should receive the honours, and precedence due to their royal rank, they being not her majesty's subjects, but princesses of the blood royal of France.' Finally, her majesty would consider the honour conferred upon them, as done to herself; and every slight to which they were subjected, as inflicted on her own royal person." De Lansac departed and delivered Elizabeth's spirited rebuke to the haughty countess. "One could read on the countenance of the said lady," writes de Lansac,¹ "how much she was troubled at this rebuke, and how ill she took it;" nevertheless, she replied, "that she was there only to obey the behest of her majesty; that she held the command to be very reasonable concerning madame de Rieux and mademoiselle de Bourbon Montpensier, and that she would command her people to be chastised for their violent proceedings." Thus far Elizabeth had vindicated her royal dignity to the satisfaction of the French members of her household: the ambassadors, however, seem to doubt how far her conduct in this respect would meet with the approval of king Philip; and they covertly insinuated to the cardinal de Lorraine, that Elizabeth must acquire a stronger hold on the affection of her royal consort, than any had yet cause to anticipate to be enabled thus to reprimand her *camaréra*.

Elizabeth spent the night at Arrasein. The fol-

¹ Lettre de Lansac au cardinal de Lorraine.

lowing day she continued her journey to Olite. The queen proceeded to the Alcazar, once a summer residence of the dispossessed kings of Navarre, but at that period, the official abode of the marshals of Navarre. She was received with great ceremony by the marquesa de Sta. Cruz.¹ The French ambassadors dilate with satisfaction on the beautiful old castle, rising on the banks of the Cidacos, and surrounded by vineyards and olive grounds. They state that the castle was filled with splendid furniture, buffets, silver plate and tapestry; and that the apartments appropriated to the use of the queen, were perfumed with fragrant woods, and essences perpetually burning in silver censers. The ambassadors also add, that there was provided for all so liberal a supply of conserves and bonbons, by command of the marquesa, that no one made count of them while at Olite.

During her sojourn at Olite, Elizebeth received a letter from her royal consort. Philip again offered her assurances of his ardent attachment, and expressed his desire for her presence. He informed the queen that he was about to depart from El Pardo, for Guadalajara to receive her. He, also, specially commended to her favourable notice the marchioness de Sta. Cruz. "The king," wrote the French ambassadors, "confers all possible honour and good treatment upon the marquis de Sta. Cruz, who sleeps in his majesty's apartments whenever the prince of Eboli is absent." The following morning, therefore,

¹ Lansac au cardinal de Lorraine.

when the marquesa presented herself at the queen's *lever*, Elizabeth received her with many gracious words, and presented her with a jewelled carcanet of great value, being one of the two *parures* given by queen Catherine to her daughter, to bestow in acknowledgment of any service performed for her during her journey. The other necklace, which was still more valuable, was subsequently given by the queen to the countess de Urueña after her arrival at Guadalajara.

From Olite the queen continued her journey to Caparrosa, where she spent a night in the Alcazar. On the 14th, she proceeded to Tudela. Elizabeth made her entry into this, the last city of Navarre, attired as when she entered Pamplona. She was received with great ceremony, and conducted over the noble bridge crossing the Ebro to the collegiate church, and from thence to the lodging prepared for her in the castle. During the evening, her majesty was entertained by a comedy. After supper there was a mock combat by torch-light in the court-yard of the castle. The following morning, before her departure, Elizabeth witnessed a masque on the river, which afforded great entertainment to the assembly. The beautiful Ebro was covered with boats displaying different ensigns: a naval combat ensued; the combatants bombarding each other with oranges—a device which elicited shouts of applause and merriment.

King Philip, meantime, was sojourning in the palace of El Pardo near to Madrid, with his sister, the princess

Juana, and a numerous court. The prince Don Carlos was precluded by severe illness from taking part in the festivities consequent on the nuptials of his royal father. During the pageant of Elizabeth's reception in Spain, the life of the prince had several times been despaired of. His disorder was a low fever, brought on by the irregularities of his life; and by impatience at the closer restraint to which he was subjected after the return of the king into Spain. He deeply resented the summary manner in which his father had annulled, what he chose to consider his prior claim to the hand of Elizabeth de Valois. He became more and more froward in his deportment towards his preceptors; and continually murmured at the inactivity of his life—forgetting that the position of high military command, which he demanded, could not be conceded without some proof of corresponding ability on his part. The prince inherited his grandfather, the emperor's, ready sarcasm of speech; and the sallies which he was ill-advised enough to indulge in, relative to his father, must have provoked the profound displeasure of a monarch much less tenacious of respect than was Philip.

The gloomy sojourn of Tordesillas, prescribed by the deceased Emperor, for the improvement of his grandson's morals had produced no salutary results. Don Garcia de Toledo the prince's preceptor, attempted in vain to break the evil spell which enthralled his pupil; the eccentricities of the prince seemed to increase; while his temper became more and

more uncontrollable. Gilbert^{*} relates that the prince's tutor, Juan Honorato, "a man of most virtuous morals," made him read Cicero's Offices, to subdue his fiery propensities ; "but," says the Venetian Badoero, "the prince will now speak of nothing but warlike affairs, and when any of his attendants bring him a gift he accepts it, but takes the donor apart, and compels him to take oath on a book, that he will hereafter follow him (the prince) whither he shall choose to lead him."¹ After the return of the king from Flanders, Philip commanded that more care might be bestowed upon the personal appearance of Don Carlos, whose negligent attire and haggard features seemed little likely to inspire the courtiers with becoming deference. Amongst other matters, the king desired that the prince should no longer wear boots, capacious enough to conceal a pair of pistols ; a fashion which some young cavaliers had adopted. Accordingly Don Pedro Manuel, gentleman of the wardrobe to Don Carlos, issued the requisite order to the boot-maker. When the boot-made according to the king's directions were presented to the prince, he flew into a terrible rage, and rising, he struck Don Pedro a blow in the face, and reviled him in opprobrious terms. He next sent for the bootmaker who had executed the order ; after indulging in much invective he caused the boots to be cut into shreds and stewed, and then compelled the man to swallow the fragments of leather, threatening to take

¹ Relazione de Badoero, Bibl. Imp., MS. de Colbert, No. 5486.

his life if he refused. Another day the prince seized Don Alfonso de Cordova, one of his chamberlains, and tried to precipitate him from a window of the Alcazar de Toledo into the *fosse* below, because he had delayed in answering a summons.¹ “The prince is passionately set on maintaining his own opinions, and is as prone to anger as any young man can be. He, nevertheless, amuses himself in uttering on every occasion, so many wise sayings, that his tutor collected many of them in a volume, which he presented to the emperor,” says Badoero.

The excitement of the prince increased as the period of Elizabeth’s arrival approached. The shadow which darkened the mind of the unhappy Don Carlos, had not altogether rendered him insensible to the charms of literature. He loved poetry, and cultivated it with some success. It is related that, at times, the prince solaced his gloomy thoughts by the composition of verse, in which he bewailed his condition, and his disappointed hopes. There is a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Impériale, containing many short sonnets said to be composed by Don Carlos. Their strain is melancholy; for the poems are almost all addressed to Elizabeth de Valois, lamenting their separation. Throughout the course of his tumultuous and fretful life, the prince seemed incapable of true and sincere attachment to anybody, excepting, perhaps, towards his preceptor, Honorato Juan. It is, nevertheless, consistent with the tenor of

¹ Ferreras, Hist. de España, t. ix. De Thou, Hist. de son Temps.

his conduct, that Don Carlos should bitterly resent the act of the king in espousing Elizabeth after she had once been assigned to himself. The sentiments all along entertained by Elizabeth for the prince, appear to have been those of profound commiseration for his infirmity.

The ambassadors, meantime, displayed such zeal in obeying Philip's mandate to use greater expedition after the queen* quitted Tudela, that his majesty addressed to them the following missive from El Pardo, commanding the delay of a day in his consort's journey, as pressing affairs compelled him to retard his own arrival at Guadalajara.

PHILIP II. TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF BURGOS, AND TO THE
DUQUE DE INFANTADO.

"I have written to you that those already assembled at Guadalajara desire much the speedy arrival there of the queen; nevertheless, on account of some state affairs, and other matters, which prevent me from proceeding thither as early as I ought to do, it is my desire that the queen should not arrive until Sunday. It appears to me that this can be contrived by making a day's journey between Hita and Guadalajara, as my subjects of the former place desire; which arrangement would suit me. See, therefore, that it be done. It has seemed good to me to write with my own hand, to admonish, and exhort you both that this my command is obeyed. From El Pardo, Friday, January 26, 1561.

"YO EL REY."¹

¹ Documentos Ineditos, t. III. p. 429. Carta de Felipe II. al arzobispo de Burgos y al duque de Infantado.

From Tudela the queen journeyed to Cervera ; from thence she proceeded to Agreda, Soria, Gomara, Moron, Baiona, Jadraque to Hita,¹ where Elizabeth arrived on Friday, February 2nd. The forebodings of the young queen were now soon to be set at rest ; before her, rose the picturesque battlements and site of Guadalajara, the fief of Infantado ; while the magnificent Mendoza palace, which crowned the heights, sheltered Philip II. and his court. Elizabeth spent the last night of her bridal progress at Hita, where she remained during the whole of Saturday. On Sunday, February 4th., she made her entry into Guadalajara. Philip, bound by the rigid ceremonial he so highly venerated, made no attempt to greet his bride before she publicly bent the knee before him in the halls of the Mendoza,—at least, no record of any such visit to Hita exists. It must have proved a goodly sight to all beholders to witness the progress of their young queen, and her reception by the vassals of Infantado, as she swept past in royal pomp, escorted by the chieftain of Mendoza, by the marquis de Cenete, and the conde de Saldaña, the duke's son and grandson, and by no less than thirty members of that princely House, so renowned for piety, magnificence and learning. It was to testify his appreciation of the loyal devotion of the Mendoza, that moved Philip to pay the duke the extraordinary honour of celebrating his nuptials at Guadalajara. It seemed, moreover, a just recompence that the

¹ Carta de Felipe II. al arzobispo de Burgos, p. 423.

Mendoza, in whose palace Francis I. met with such magnificent hospitality during his captivity in Spain, should first welcome the grand-daughter of that monarch when she came to share the throne of Charles V., the conqueror of Pavia.

During the last evening of Elizabeth's sojourn at Hita, the town and palace of Guadalajara were illuminated, the device predominating being the mottoes, and arms of Spain, France, and Mendoza. The body-guard of the duke was under arms, and the magnificence of his retinue almost equalled the royal state.

At break of day, February 4th, the rejoicings commenced. Spacious pavilions, surmounted by flags emblazoning the royal arms, and the lions and motto of Mendoza, *Ave Maria gratia pléna*, were erected between Hita and Guadalajara, beneath which, collations were spread, and exquisite wines provided for the refreshment of all persons in the train of the queen. A space, sheltered by a rising ground close to the gate of the town, upon which grew a little wood of evergreen oaks, was chosen as a suitable spot to erect the canopy beneath which the queen was to receive the address of the authorities of the town. To afford a pleasant spectacle to her majesty while the harangue lasted, a multitude of birds, nightingales, and linnets were placed amongst the branches of the trees; while beneath, on the grass, the duke de Infantado, commanded deer, rabbits, hares, and pheasants to be secured in so novel a manner, that the

grassy slope excited great admiration from all passers.¹

Elizabeth made her entry into Guadalajara on horseback. The housings of her palfrey were of cloth of silver, embroidered with the castles of Spain, the lilies of France, and other emblematic devices. She rode between the cardinal archbishop of Burgos, and the duke de Infantado. The beauty of the queen made a great impression on her Spanish subjects. Elizabeth is described by contemporary historians, as having a most gracious expression of countenance. Her eyes were large, lively, and of a dark brown hue—her hair was nearly black, very long and fine in its texture.² During her girlhood, in France, Elizabeth complied with the prevailing fashion of the court, and hid her luxuriant hair under a coiffure of blonde tresses. On her arrival in Spain, this custom was discarded by the queen, at the express desire of king Philip. In the portrait appended to this volume, which was taken before Elizabeth's departure from France, she is represented with these straw-coloured tresses. Elizabeth's figure is described by Spanish historians as beautifully formed; and her deportment so majestic that she appeared to be a princess of much more elevated stature, than she in reality was. The older courtiers of France, declared that Elizabeth bore an exact resemblance to her royal mother, when under the

¹ Enrique Florez, *Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas, Vida de Isabel de Valois.*

² Brantôme, *Dames Illustres. Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.*

auspices of Clement VII., Catherine first made her appearance at the court of Francis I. Catherine is stated to have felt great pride at this likeness between herself and her favourite and most prosperous daughter.

Madame de Rieux, and the countess de Urueña followed Elizabeth, riding together in an open litter, for thus had Philip commanded. Mademoiselle de Bourbon rode next, attended by madame de Clermont. The French and Spanish cavaliers, and ladies followed in due order of precedence. The authorities of the town presented their address of congratulation to the queen at the appointed spot, close to the gate. The attire of these personages was very splendid and picturesque: they wore loose habits of crimson velvet embroidered in gold, and trimmed with a profusion of gold lace. Their doublets were of white satin, and they wore short cloaks and swords. The deputation was preceded by a band of musicians. The clergy next addressed the queen, approaching her majesty in procession, preceded by dignitaries bearing crosses and relics. The baron de Lansac replied in Spanish to these addresses in her majesty's name, to the satisfaction of his auditors. As the queen passed the chapel of the Mendoza family, dedicated to St. Francisco, the harmonious voices of choristers saluted her, chanting '*Te Deum Laudamus.*' Elizabeth then rode beneath a triumphal arch of elaborate description into the beautiful *patio* of the palace. A canopy of cloth of gold was erected over the portal, beneath

which, stood the princess Doña Juana, Philip's sister. The princess was attended by a great suite of ladies, amongst whom were the marquesa de Cenete, daughter-in-law of the duke de Infantado, and the countess de Saldaña, the duke's granddaughter. The duchess of Alba, the princess of Eboli, the marquesa de Sta. Cruz, and many other noble ladies were likewise present to grace the festivities. Elizabeth dismounted from her palfrey, aided by the duke and the cardinal. As she ascended the steps of the platform upon which the ladies stood, the princess Doña Juana approached, and kneeling, kissed her majesty's robe, and afterwards her hand. Elizabeth hastily prayed her to rise; for the queen at first found the obsequious etiquette, exacted from the Spanish ladies towards their sovereign, to be very embarrassing homage. Her majesty entered the palace, being still escorted by the duke de Infantado and the cardinal Mendoza. The princess Juana walked on the right hand of the queen, who was followed by her *camaréra-mayor*, and by madame de Rieux, holding her majesty's train. Thus the procession moved on, until it reached the portal of the magnificent saloon of the Mendoza family, entitled, *la Sala de Linajes*. The folding-doors of this apartment were thrown open, and on the threshold stood king Philip, ready to receive his long expected bride. The train which attended Elizabeth halted, leaving a large space for the ceremonies about to be performed. Elizabeth advanced, followed at a little distance by

the cardinal Mendoza, and the duke de Infantado, her ladies, however, still supporting her train. The king made a few steps in advance, his countenance expressing great satisfaction; but before the young queen had opportunity to bend the knee before him, Philip embraced her tenderly and enquired after her welfare, the courtiers looking on in astonishment at so unwonted a deviation from etiquette on the part of their sovereign.

As the custom of Spain required that the marriage ceremony should be performed without delay, a temporary altar had been erected in the saloon, and Philip presenting his hand to the queen led her before it; no further parley having been exchanged between them. The cardinal Mendoza officiated at the august ceremony. When the nuptial benediction was pronounced, the princess Doña Juana, and the duke de Infantado acted as sponsors, and supported the canopy over the heads of the royal pair during the *velacion*.¹ The termination of the religious rite was announced by salvos of artillery, and by the blast of trumpets. The royal couple then retired to confer in private, as the ceremonial of the day was not ended, and the queen appeared to suffer from fatigue and excitement. "On the second day of February, 1560," says the historian Cabrera,² "the nuptial benison was bestowed on the Catholic kings, by the cardinal de Burgos at Guadalajara, the duke

¹ Florez, *Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas*. Cabrera, *Historia de Felipe II.*

² *Ibid*, cap. vi. p. 244.

de Infantado, and the princess Doña Juana being sponsors to their majesties. The king was aged thirty three years nine months and twenty days, and the queen had completed her 18th year.¹ Her majesty was slender in stature, but very symmetrically formed. Her waist was small, and her face round, with an olive complexion. Her hair was black, and her eyes good, and full of fire. She was a princess of most affable deportment, and was entitled by her subjects *Isabel de la Paz*, because her marriage brought peace between the two crowns. The festivities were many and splendid, demonstrating the wealth and greatness of that ancient and most noble House (of Mendoza) which has conferred excellent service both in peace and war upon the sovereigns of this realm."

It is related that Elizabeth, a few hours after her arrival at Guadalajara, as she stood by the side of her consort, intently fixed her eyes upon his face, as if she were striving to read thereon the truth or falsehood of the stories current throughout Europe respecting his character. Philip bore the scrutiny very patiently for some time; at length, being annoyed at the earnestness of her gaze, he turned away and petulantly demanded, "*Que mirais Senora? si tengo canas?*"² It is added that the young Elizabeth felt this rebuff from the lips of her

¹ The historian is here mistaken. Elizabeth was born in 1546, and consequently had just entered her sixteenth year.

² What are you looking at, Señora? Whether I have yet grey hair?

dreaded lord ; so much so, that it caused her to shed tears.¹

At nightfall, the town and palace were brilliantly illuminated ; the people were feasted royally in the *plaza*, and entertained by public games and shows, all at the expense of the duke de Infantado. Philip and his bride, meantime, held a *besamanos*, in the saloon in which the ceremony of their marriage had been performed. A procession, during the evening, entered the palace from the town, consisting of the Corregidores and eighteen municipal officers, preceded by bands of music, flags and banners. These personages appeared before their majesties, each bearing a silver dish filled with sweetmeats, which with many humble obeisances they offered to the queen. Elizabeth graciously accepted the gift ; afterwards with the approbation of the king, she commanded the count de Alva de Liste, major-domo of her household, to divide the *bonbons* amongst the ladies present, her majesty partaking of her own share.²

The festivities for the evening then concluded, every one retiring abundantly fatigued with the ceremonies of this bridal day.

¹ Cayet, Chron. Novenaire. Brantôme.

² Enrique Florez, Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas.

CHAPTER III.

The king and queen of Spain depart for Madrid—They proceed to Toledo—Entry of the queen into Toledo—She is received at the Alcazar by Don Carlos and the princess Juana—Illness of the queen—Ceremony of the recognition of Don Carlos as heir of the Spains—Cabals of the court of Toledo—The prince and princess of Eboli—The duke of Alba—Doña Juana—Settlement of Elizabeth's dower, and civil list—Affairs of France and Scotland—Feuds between the duke of Alba and the prince of Eboli—Departure from court of the duke of Alba—Discords between the ladies of Elizabeth's household—Mademoiselle de Montpensier and the Major-domo mayor—Letter of Elizabeth to her mother, Catherine de Medici.

THE following morning, February 5th, the duke de Infantado gave their Catholic majesties a *réveille* by a great salute of cannon, and a concert of military music in the spacious court-yard of the palace. As soon as etiquette permitted, the duke, accompanied by the members of his immediate family, entered the royal chamber, preceded by gentlemen bearing a magnificently adorned tray, upon which were displayed various richly jewelled ornaments, fans and gloves, presents from the munificent duque de Infantado to the king and queen. Rich stuffs, gloves, articles of silver plate, bonbons in enamelled boxes,

feathers, and mirrors set in frames of wrought steel, were distributed in the duke's name amongst the principal ladies and cavaliers, both French and Spanish of Elizabeth's household.¹ The splendid entertainment given by the Mendoza to himself and to his young bride, was very agreeable to Philip, who exulted in all that elevated Spain, her institutions, and nobility; while the display before the French ambassage of the state maintained by one of his subjects, was flattering beyond measure to his pride. The king's satisfaction at his marriage was, moreover, ample. He expressed himself with warmth to the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, and to the other ambassadors respecting the beauty and the mental endowments of his bride. It is certain that Philip did all in his power to reconcile Elizabeth to her new home and country; and he appears to have been determined to prove to her, that the affectionate words he had lavished before her arrival were heart-felt. The graceful deportment of the queen, and the deference of her manner, personally gratified the imperious Philip; while Elizabeth's dignified demeanour towards the members of his court conferred visible satisfaction upon the king. The kindness which she received from Philip, nevertheless, did not entirely dissipate Elizabeth's dread; but she seems on the whole to have been favourably impressed, and much affected by the enthusiasm of her reception in Spain.

* ¹ Enrique Florez, *Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas*. Vida de Doña Isabel de Valois.

According to the directions of queen Catherine, the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, his sister madame de Rieux, and the other ambassadors, excepting the baron de Lansac, took their departure from Guadalajara on the day following the marriage of the queen. Fortunate would it have been for Elizabeth had all her French attendants followed in the suite of the prince: for then the first years of her sojourn in Spain would not have been embittered by the feuds that arose between her countrymen and the Spanish court—dissensions, which created embarrassments in the cabinets of both countries, and endangered her health and popularity.

Elizabeth found leisure to write to her brother, Francis II, in acknowledgment of the services rendered her by the prince de la Roche. The queen, though she favoured the party of the princes of Lorraine, yet deplored the political degradation which had befallen the house of Bourbon; and she, therefore, resolved to record her testimony to the fidelity of the prince in his discharge of his duties as ambassador extraordinary. Her letter, the first which she wrote after her marriage in Spain, is as follows:—

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO FRANCIS II., KING OF FRANCE.¹

“Monsieur,

“Mon cousin, the prince de la Roche-sur-Yon being about to set out on his return home, will, I feel assured, render you good account of my journey hither. It is my

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp., Portef. de l'Aubespine.—Inedited.

duty, however, to give testimony to the honourable manner in which he has acquitted himself of the commission to conduct me into Spain, which you were pleased to intrust to him : so much so, that there is no one in this company who has surpassed him in zeal. For this, Monsieur, I feel indebted to the said Prince, and would greatly desire to possess the means of testifying my sentiments, in a manner proportioned to my wish. I cannot, however, omit to admonish you of his services, and to pray you to hold them in remembrance. For the rest, Monsieur, I refer you for intelligence of all that has hitherto happened to me to the said prince. I pray God, Monsieur, that He will preserve you in health, and maintain me in your good favour. From Guadalajara, this 3rd day of February.

“Votre très humble seur, -

“ELIZABETH.”

The prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, proceeded on his journey back as far as Madrid, when he was there met by a messenger from Francis II, bringing the collar and badge of St. Michael for king Philip, with a warrant empowering the prince to invest his Catholic majesty with the Order. The prince, therefore, remained at Madrid, where the court of Spain was to make some sojourn on its road to Toledo ; while madame de Rieux and her companions continued their journey homewards.

Joustings, banquettings, balls, and hunting parties in the vast forests which encircled the duke's domain of Guadalajara, formed part of the recreations of Elizabeth's honeymoon. The cost of the festivities was defrayed by the duke, who with princely munifi-

cence refused to be reimbursed for any portion of the sums so lavishly expended. As a mark of royal acknowledgment, however, the marquesa de Cenete, the duke's daughter-in-law, and the condesa de Saldana, the consort of his grandson, were nominated to offices in the household of the queen.

Philip and his consort, remained the guests of the duke de Infantado for the space of six days. On the 10th of February, they quitted Guadalajara on their way to Toledo, in which city, then considered by the Spaniards as the capital of Spain, "*sino cabeza de toda Europa*," Elizabeth was to make her solemn entry. When the royal pair reached Alcalá de Henares, Philip despatched a courier back to Guadalajara to enquire after the health of his late princely entertainer, with the message "that the king rendered the illustrious Mendoza most cordial thanks for the good and loyal services lately fulfilled by him, he having imitated in so doing the actions of his noble progenitors, and emulated their valour and worth."¹

At Madrid, the ceremony of the investiture of Philip with the order of St. Michael took place, during the brief sojourn there of the court. In addition to the golden insignia of the order,² the king of France presented a set of robes to his good brother of Spain. These robes had been sent from Paris incomplete ;

¹ Cabrera, Hist. de Felipe II., cap. vi. p. 244.

² The collar of the order of St. Michael was in weight equal to two hundred crowns. The mantle was of white silk damask furred with ermine. The badge, a figure of the archangel St. Michael.

and before the arrival of Philip at Madrid, the prince de la Roche, wrote in haste to the French ambassador, the bishop de Limoges, to request him to procure three yards of cloth of silver to make a cassock for his Catholic majesty, without which the investiture could not be completed.¹ Philip wrote afterwards to express his acknowledgments to Francis II, for the "favour of having been elected as the brother of so many valiant and excellent knights; the which, he accepted as a signal and very honourable privilege."²

On the 14th of February, Elizabeth arrived at a village situated about a league from Toledo, where she rested until the preparations for her entry into the city were completed. So anxious was Philip, that the pageant should be ordered with the greatest magnificence, that he preceded his consort thither by some days, travelling from Madrid with the princess Doña Juana and the duke of Alba, to superintend the preparations in person. Elizabeth was attended by her French ladies, and by the countess de Urueña, who still manifested much ill-will towards her colleagues of the household; a resentment which was espoused by the potent relatives of the *camaréra*, much to the annoyance of her rivals in office.

On the evening after her arrival in the vicinity of Toledo, Elizabeth was surprised by a visit from her

¹ Négociations sous François II. Le prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, à M. de Limoges, p. 281.

² Ibid, Lettre de Philippe II. au roy très-chretien. p. 201.

royal consort, who came *incognito*, attended by Ruy Gomez de Silva, prince of Eboli, his favourite chamberlain. Philip came to inform the queen that the ceremonies for her reception in his capital being complete, her entry would be made on the morrow.

In testimony of the honour he bore his youthful consort, the most elaborate rejoicings had been commanded by Philip. The streets of imperial Toledo were canopied with arras, rich velvets, garlands, and verdant arches, adorned with cyphers, love-knots, the lilies of Valois, and the shields and eagles of Charles V. "In the *vega* of Toledo," says the historian,¹ "were eight battalions of infantry, to receive her majesty; the men sumptuously arrayed, there being altogether more than three thousand, and one hundred horsemen with saddles adorned in Moorish fashion, half of these horsemen being attired in *miparti* vestments, the others in the costume of Hungary with standards, and arms." When the queen appeared in sight, the infantry charged valiantly, and then formed the van-guard of the procession to the Alcazar. Then followed many beautiful maidens of the Sagra,² performing the sword-dance, that ancient dance of the Spaniards; others exhibited various national dances; some in the garb of Gitanas; and twenty-four damsels danced disguised as Moorish maidens to the

¹ Cabrera, Hist. de Felipe II., cap. vi. Florez, Vidas de las reynas Catholicas.

² The Sagra, is the fertile district of country lying between Toledo and Aranjuez.

sound of kettle-drums, dulcimers, and tambourines. Next marched the members of the *Hermandad Cuchillo*, a mounted police for the high-roads throughout the kingdom; these officers wore a costume of green velvet, richly ornamented with gold embroidery; they had cloaks of black velvet, and were preceded by a green banner. Following, were 138 officers of the royal mint, attired in crimson velvet habits embroidered with gold, bearing banners emblazoning the royal arms of Spain, and the current coinage of the realm. Then came forty members of the hospital de la Piedad, clad in habits of red cloth, and wearing hats in shape like those of presbyters, of cerulean blue, having a *fleur de lis* in front. These proceeded on their way singing the praises of the queen, and thanksgivings for her happy arrival.

After these followed a company masked, in the garb of savages. Next rode in solemn pomp the officials of the Holy Office of the Inquisition preceded by their black banner. They were mounted on picked horses, and displayed the royal arms embroidered on the breast of their habits. Then marched the university of Toledo. Next came eighty canons and dignitaries of the Cathedral, attired in crimson velvet robes, preceded by vergers and mace-bearers. Following these, rode seventy chosen cavaliers from the Orders of Calatrava, St. Iago and Alcantara. Then came the members of the state council of Castile, headed by their president, the marquis de Mondejar.¹

¹ Conde de Tendilla, of the lineage of Mendoza.

The council of state for Italian affairs followed, led by its president the duque de Francavilla. Then came the officers of the household of the queen immediately preceding Elizabeth herself, who rode on a white palfrey. The housings of her horse appertained to Philip's mother, the deceased empress; they were composed of cloth of gold thickly embroidered with a network of the most precious gems, emitting such luminous rays that the rider seemed borne on a rainbow. Elizabeth wore a robe of blue damask, furred and jewelled; her ruff of rich lace was sprinkled with gems; and she carried in her hand a richly embroidered pocket-handkerchief, the first that had been seen in Europe. Her majesty entered Toledo by the Puerta Visagra. The officers of the municipality here received her under a canopy, fringed and embroidered with the initials F. and I.¹ On the right of the queen rode the cardinal Mendoza; on her majesty's left, the duke of Medina de Rioseco, admiral of Castile. Then followed in procession the chieftains of the great Houses of Spain, magnificently clad, and mounted on superb chargers, forming a truly royal body-guard for the fair bride whom it was the pleasure of their sovereign so to honour. Nearest to the person of the queen rode the dukes de Infantado, Alba, Scalona, Osuna, and Brunswick; the marquises of Comares² and Aguilar; the counts

¹ Felipe y Isabel.

Son of the duque de Segovia y de Lerma, head of the house of Cordova. The duke possessed revenues averaging 84,000 ducats.

de las Navas, Benevente,¹ and Oñate. The procession halted beneath the arched portal of the Visagra; for a group of cavaliers, according to ancient custom, stood to bar her majesty's progress. The count de Fuensalida,² alcalde mayor of Toledo, the duke de Maqueda,³ alguazil mayor, and the conde de Orgaz,⁴ then approached and humbly prayed that her majesty, before entering the royal city of Toledo, would take oath to respect the privileges of its citizens. Elizabeth having been pleased to comply with this request, the cortège proceeded in great triumph to the cathedral. The queen dismounted at the Puerta del Perdon, and entering the magnificent edifice, she advanced to the high altar supported by the cardinal Mendoza, who performed, by command of the king, the functions of metropolitan on this august occasion; Carranza, primate-archbishop of Toledo, being then a prisoner in the dungeons of the Inquisition on a charge of heresy.

A procession of ecclesiastics, headed by mitred prelates suffragan bishops of the imperial see, arrayed in jewelled copes, followed by the dean, archdeacon, and canons of Toledo, advanced to meet her majesty; while choristers chanted 'Te Deum Laudamus,' and swung their censers till the sweet vapour of incense

¹ Benevente de Mayorga de Luna, chief of the houses of Quiñones y Pimental. The conde de Benevente, one of the most potent of Philip's courtiers, possessed a revenue of 74,000 ducats.

² Chief of the house of Ayala.

³ Don Diego de Cardenas, duque de Maqueda.

⁴ Gusman y Mendoza.

filled the choir. On the high altar were displayed precious relics, and the magnificent church plate, unequalled in the world. In front of the altar rose the cross of pure silver, which had been planted in triumph by the great Mendoza, cardinal de Santa Croce, on the towers of the conquered Alhambra, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel. Elizabeth then knelt, and paid her devotions before the altar; the pontifical benediction being pronounced by the cardinal Mendoza.

The king, meanwhile, had witnessed the procession from various points of the town, and was present at the solemnities in the cathedral. His majesty carefully refrained from making himself known, and wore a large cloak and hat with a plume, which proved a complete disguise. He was attended by Ruy Gomez, and by one other lord of his chamber.¹

Elizabeth's procession on quitting the cathedral, proceeded to the Alcazar de Toledo, where the royal pair were to take up their abode for some months. This fortress-palace was the favourite residence of Philip II. until after the construction of El Escorial. The king then deserted Toledo for Madrid; which city first rose into importance during his reign. Toledo, the city of ecclesiastical palaces, cloistered houses, and religious pomp, had been also the favoured abode of the emperor Charles V. The narrow streets flanked on either side by stately houses,

¹ Cabrera, *Hist. de Felipe II.*, cap. vi. Ferreras. Florez.

attested the wealth of its inhabitants. Side by side rose the rich Gothic façade, the Moorish archway, and the exquisite chiselled stone-work of churches and convents; over all loomed the towers of the cathedral. No murmurs of busy multitudes disturbed the silence of the streets; the sound which alone broke the gloom of Toledo, "the pearl of cities" was, the harmony of its ever echoing choral services; and the wild cadence of the waters of the Tajo.

As the queen proceeded, salutes were fired from the castle ramparts. The splendid *patio*, with its colonnade of granite pillars was adorned with heraldic devices; colossal statues being placed before each column, representing mythological personages, and heroes of antiquity. At the foot of the grand staircase, waiting to receive the queen, stood the princess Juana, accompanied by her nephew Don Carlos. The prince had risen from his bed to greet his fair young step-mother. The intermittent fever, with which he had been long afflicted, was far from being subdued; and his wasted features testified the deplorable condition of his health. The French ambassador comments on the emaciated aspect of the prince; and remarks, that from day to day the fever seemed to increase, leaving the sufferer in the last stage of debility. Behind the prince and his aunt, stood the gallant Don Juan of Austria, the illegitimate son of Charles V.

Don Carlos advanced towards the queen, fixing

his eyes earnestly on her countenance; he then bent the knee, and kissed her hand. Elizabeth received the prince with gracious affability; and her words were so appropriate, that the prince showed by his manner, what great contentment they gave him. "Her majesty," says the ambassador,¹ "received M. le prince, with such favour and demonstration of regard, that if the king and all present derived contentment therefrom, the said prince was still more flattered; a sentiment which he plainly evidenced then, and also since, when he has visited her said majesty, which, however, has not been frequent; for, visits in this country are not so much the fashion as in France; besides, the said prince has been so tormented with fever, that from day to day he seems to grow weaker." Probably, Philip's commands had some influence on the visits Don Carlos paid to his step-mother. The invectives continually uttered by the prince, in allusion to the wrong which he assumed his father had done him, in depriving him of the alliance of Elizabeth, were not likely to be disregarded by the severe Philip. "The queen's beautiful features, rendered her so attractive an object," says Brantôme,² "that when I was in Spain, I heard, that the great lords of the court dare not look long at her majesty, for fear of being unable to restrain their admiration, and so to

¹ Dépêche de l'Evêque de Limoges au Roi. Négociations sous François II., p. 271.

² Dames Illustres, Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

rouse the jealousy of the king, which would surely have imperilled their lives and fortunes." Don Carlos, however, refused to accept the counsel of those best affected towards him. In vain the princess Juana, and Don Juan of Austria, remonstrated on the rashness of his conduct; the imprudent prince persisted in defying the authority and the commands of his father, and sovereign. His sarcasm assailed Philip in public and in private. While the prince thus took every occasion to express contempt for the king, he pretended an excess of deference for Elizabeth's commands, and obeyed her behests with ostentatious punctuality—a course of conduct highly offensive to Philip.

During the few subsequent days after her entry into Toledo, the queen received the court, and entered into the details of her future household. Elizabeth was in high spirits, and apparently in perfect health, though her ladies remarked that her majesty at times seemed to be restless, and her face unusually flushed, which they, however, accounted for, by the excitement of her life during the past two months. On Sunday, the 20th of February, six days after her entry into Toledo, the French ambassador writes, that he went to visit the queen, and found her in her private apartments—to which he was admitted by a special order from the king—dancing with her ladies in lively spirits, and apparently very happy. During the night, however, Elizabeth woke complaining of thirst and heat. In the morning a

slight eruption appeared on her face, attended with fever, and pains in the limbs. Philip in great alarm refused to quit his consort until the physicians had visited her. The latter pronounced Elizabeth's indisposition to be an attack of chicken-pox; and recommended perfect repose for a few days, and that her majesty should be bled in the arm. Elizabeth, however, absolutely refused to submit to this remedy; and implored the king to forbid it. Philip pacified her, with many gentle words; and promised that the physicians should again consult together upon the treatment to be adopted. He then quitted the apartment, and first issuing orders that the festivities should be suspended until after her majesty's recovery, he summoned to his presence, Elizabeth's physicians, madame de Clermont, and the condesa de Urueña. Finding that it was still the opinion of the former that bleeding was necessary to ensure his consort's speedy recovery, the king at length agreed that Elizabeth should submit to the operation. Philip then repaired to the apartment of the queen, and remained alone with her for nearly two hours, during which interval he persuaded her to consent to the treatment prescribed on his promise to stay with her while the operation was performed.

The queen, subsequently, passed a comfortable night; and the following morning she was so much better that Philip did not deem it necessary to delay the ceremonial of the recognition of the prince Don Carlos as heir to the crown of the Spains, which had

been fixed for the day week upon which Elizabeth made her entry into Toledo. At this season Philip seems to have been actuated by the most forbearing and righteous sentiments towards his unhappy son. On this occasion, however, Don Carlos, as usual, ungratefully complained that the king did not delay this ceremonial, which he had vehemently demanded, until it could be graced by the presence of Elizabeth.

The ceremony was performed on Tuesday the 22nd day of February, in the cathedral of Toledo. At one o'clock precisely, the cortège quitted the Alcazar. The order of procession resembled that on the entry of Elizabeth. Don Carlos rode on a white charger magnificently accoutred with trappings of cloth of gold. The dress of the prince blazed with jewels; but his countenance was pale and sombre; and the wildness of his gaze was remarked by many persons in the concourse assembled to view the pageant. On the left of the prince rode his uncle Don Juan of Austria. He was preceded by a long cavalcade of nobles; the young prince of Parma, and the admiral of Castile, the duke de Medina de Rioseco, riding before the prince of Spain. The litter of the princess Doña Juana followed. The princess wore robes of black velvet, studded with diamonds; and a toque of velvet over which was thrown a veil of white crape that enveloped her figure, and touched the ground. The principal court ladies came next, "being all very joyous that the French ladies could not attend on account of the

indisposition of the queen Doña Isabella." The conde de Oropesa followed riding bareheaded, and bearing a sword of state before his Catholic majesty. The count, who during the reign of Charles V, was a favoured courtier, had requested permission to wear a close fitting cap on this occasion, on account of the severity of the weather; as, not being a grandee of the first class, he possessed not the prerogative of appearing covered in the royal presence. Philip, at first, granted this favour to one who had faithfully served his imperial father; but having been informed by the duke of Alba, that the count had expressed himself arrogantly, on the impossibility of his majesty's refusal of such a request from the chief of Oropesa, Philip on the morning of the solemnity sent to the count a message drily revoking his permission. The king was attired in a black velvet habit, jewelled, and furred with sable. His vest was of amber coloured velvet, laced, and ornamented with grey and amber fringes.¹

Within the cathedral, a gorgeous scene unfolded itself—such as in those days Spain alone could present, rich in the wealth of the New World, and the still unexhausted treasures amassed by Charles V. Upon the altar stood marvellous creations of the sculptors' art in gold and silver—images, urns, and reliquaries. The light streamed down through the matchless painted windows of the choir, upon the collected regalia of twenty kingdoms, displayed upon

¹ Cabrera, *Hist. de Felipe II.*, cap. vi.

a table, placed on the left of the high altar. The king took his seat on a throne erected near the altar: Don Carlos sat next to his father; then the princess Doña Juana. Close to the altar, on the right, sat the cardinal Mendoza, archbishop of Burgos; near him were assembled all the lay members of the house of Mendoza, with the duke de Infantado at their head. On the left of the high altar stood the prelates, whose office it was to chant the mass—the archbishops of Granada and Seville,¹ and the bishops of Avila and Pamplona. On either side of the nave, were the *grandees* and *ricos hombres* of Spain, ranged according to their rank. When mass concluded, the prelates, led by the cardinal-archbishop, quitted the altar, and ascended a platform covered with crimson brocade, which extended from the Puerta del Perdon to the choir. The cardinal, attended by his kindred of Mendoza, placed himself on a chair of state, arrayed in full pontifical pomp, ready to administer the oaths of fealty. The conde de Oropesa then approached the royal platform, and with a low obeisance, first summoned Doña Juana, princess of Portugal to take oath of fealty to her nephew, Don Carlos. The form of words was then read aloud to the assembly by one Menchaca, a judge in the archiepiscopal court of Toledo. The princess rose, and led by king Philip, the prince Don Carlos walking on her left hand, she approached the platform whereon the prelates stood. Kneeling, Doña Juana

¹ Don Fernando de Valdez, grand inquisitor, and archbishop of Séville.

laid her hand on a copy of the Holy Gospels and upon a crucifix, and pronounced the words of the oath after the cardinal, by which she bound herself hereafter to render to the prince, as legitimate heir of Spain, honour and obedience, and to aid him by personal service and by all the influence she possessed. Doña Juana then approached her nephew and offered to kiss his hand in token of homage and service. The prince, however, refused his hand, but very cordially embraced his aunt. Don Juan of Austria next took the oath of fealty to the prince: then all the prelates in succession—afterwards the grandees. The duke of Alba, who presided as high chamberlain was the last to swear homage to the prince. It is related that the duke when he had taken oath, omitted the customary homage of kissing the hand of the prince in his anxiety to fulfil the duties of his office. As the prince was observed to frown angrily, some personage reminded the duke of his omission. Alba therefore approached the prince, and with many apologies excused himself. Don Carlos accepted the excuse, and condescended to embrace the duke, whom he disliked and feared. Many months afterwards, however, he reverted in displeasure to the incident. The ceremonial terminated by the prince himself taking oath to maintain, hereafter, in case he succeeded to the crown, the ancient charters of the realm; to govern with equity, and to defend the Holy Catholic Faith. The oath was administered to

the prince by his uncle Don Juan.¹ Thus terminated the ceremonial of the inauguration of Philip's forward heir. That the king was at this season resolved to do justice to his son, in spite of provocations; and that he made every possible allowance for his paroxysms of passion, may be inferred from the fact, that he permitted this ceremonial to be performed after hearing from Ruy Gomez, that Don Carlos had exclaimed, on learning the departure of Elizabeth from Bayonne, "that if the queen made king Philip father of another son, he would hate her for it all his life after; and not herself alone but the son she bore likewise."

Meantime, great consternation prevailed at the court of France when tidings of Elizabeth's illness reached Paris. The bishop of Limoges, when it was deemed necessary to bleed the queen, despatched a courier to Catherine de Medici, without waiting the result of the remedy, which would have enabled him to subjoin the intelligence of her convalescence. Catherine forthwith wrote urgent letters for fresh information as to the condition of the queen, addressed to de l'Aubespine, madame de Clermont, and to Elizabeth herself. Philip did not consider his consort well enough to reply with her own hand to her mother's letter, and forbade her to make the trial. The ambassador, therefore, explained that "the cause of the queen's malady was generally supposed

¹ Cabrera, *Hist. de Felipe II.* Ferreras. Leti, *Vita de Felipe II.*

to proceed from the heat of the country, and from the variableness of the air, which like the meats in general use was subtle, and sharp. Sire," continued the bishop, "by the blessing of God this illness will dispose her majesty to enjoy without inconvenience both the air and the diet of Spain!"¹

As soon as the festivities in honour of Elizabeth's arrival ceased, the bishop of Limoges, by command of his court, commenced the difficult task of procuring the settlement of the queen's household, and of all matters relative to her dower. With extreme displeasure the Spanish people had witnessed the arrival of the queen's French attendants; and Philip, but for the prayers of his consort, would have summarily dismissed them all at Guadalajara. By the king's command, therefore, the duke of Alba informed the French ambassador that no countrymen of the queen could hold state offices in her Court; and that his majesty had appointed the count de Alba de Liste,² steward of the queen's household; and had given him power to order and rule everything as it was during the life of the deceased empress. His majesty wished that his consort should be surrounded by Spaniards, "for that when the nobles visited her majesty, it would be more agreeable for them, as also for the queen, that she should be attended by those who could both converse and interpret." This reasonable

¹ D  p  che de l'Ev  que de Limoges au roi. N  gociations sous Francois II., p. 275.

² Don Alonzo de Enriquez. The conde de Alba de Liste had married the sister of the duke de Alba, Do  a Catalina de Toledo.

intimation caused the most violent clamour, amongst the French suite. Elizabeth was besieged with remonstrances, and reproaches. Her intercession, however, availed not; and the ambassador was reminded that the presence in Toledo, of the queen's attendants was a violation of the promise personally given by Catherine de Medici, to the Spanish envoys. The count de Alba proceeded with ability and firmness in his task. He was a stern old soldier, courteous, but impervious to flattery or sophistry of any kind. He bore his royal mistress chivalrous respect; but at the same time he presumed to speak truth to her. By the command of Philip, the count sought an audience of the queen, and requested that she would name those inferior personages of her suite, whom she most regarded, that, if possible, they might be retained in her service, or dismissed honourably with gratuities. Elizabeth assented; she made her selection in writing, which was sent to the French ambassador to deliver to the energetic majordomo. The queen, however, without overt resistance had silently used her influence over the king to obtain a very important concession, which though it afforded her gratification for the time, she afterwards bitterly repented. She obtained permission to retain the services of madame de Clermont, of madame de Vineux, of Claude de Nau, and of all the French ladies who had been nominated to offices about her person,¹ on condition that they should hold

¹ La royne entend que l'on ne touche point à son état, en ce qui

no official rank at court in virtue of such appointments. Mademoiselle de Montpensier was still to remain for the present at the Spanish court, as the friend and cousin of Elizabeth.

The list of the personages of her household, whom the queen desired to retain, is long enough. Foremost stands the name of her preceptor St. Etienne, whom she prays may be nominated her chief almoner. The queen desired that her physicians and apothecaries might keep their appointments; her two French chaplains, and her confessor Maître Consilii. She, moreover, demanded the services of her furrier, her goldsmith, her gold-lace maker, and her tailor, one Edouard Lacathe; also, of more than eighty private gentlemen of her suite.¹ Public disapprobation, meantime, was somewhat conciliated by the dismissal of the menial officers of Elizabeth's household, and by the nomination of Spaniards in their stead. The count de Alba, though he disapproved of the arrangements which Elizabeth had effected, conformed to them apparently with good grace. He, however, told his royal mistress that she had made a fatal mistake, the effect of which would one day recoil on herself; and that then she would be as desirous to dismiss her French attendants as she was

touche les dames, demoiselles, et femmes, et désire qu'elles soient entretenues, et traitées à son service comme elles ont été accoustumé, et qu'il soit pourvu d'ordinaire à celles qui n'ont ordre pour manger, ainsi qu'elles avoient, outre les gages en France." Double du Petit Estat que la royne Catholique a fait, &c. *Négociations sous François II., p. 353.*

Ibid.

now of retaining them ; for that her Spanish ladies would not be satisfied to attend their royal mistress in public, when they knew that in private she lived amongst foreigners. Philip's desire of obliging his young wife must have been great indeed at this period, when it induced him to disregard his antipathy to foreigners ; and to forego his conviction, that nothing could be well performed unless it were done by Spaniards. • Probably the secret of Philip's unusual compliance in this affair, arose from the delicate health of the queen ; and his fear lest a compulsory separation from her countrymen should still more seriously impair it. Catherine de Medici, and the French ambassador, represented the matter in this light, especially in their correspondence relative to madame de Clermont and to Claude de Nau ; both of whom, they averred, had lived with Elizabeth from her birth, and therefore they alone understood her constitution. As for the women of the bed-chamber, it was pleaded by Catherine that the position of the young queen would be forlorn indeed, if she, not yet being versed in the Spanish tongue, had personages alone round her, who knew not her habits, and to whom she would find difficulty in explaining her wants. The controversy ended by the retention of all the personages named in the queen's memorandum ; and the re-appointment of madame de Clermont and her colleagues—Elizabeth accepting unconditionally the state household selected by her consort. The count de Alba, therefore,

remained her grand-master; the condesa de Urueña *camaréra-mayor*, with the privilege of access at all times to the queen's presence. Don Frederic de Portugal was Elizabeth's master of the horse; the duchess de Alba,¹ the princess of Eboli, the marquesa de Cenete, the condesa de Alba de Liste, and the duchess de Naxara,² being appointed with other noble matrons ladies of honour in ordinary.

The court of Spain, at the time of Elizabeth's arrival, was rent by cabals amongst the grandees, which even the terrible frown of Philip II, could neither suppress nor allay. Like the rivalry of the houses of Montmorency and Chabot de Brion in the reign of Francis I. of France, so under the reign of Philip II. burned the enmity between the potent houses of Mendoza and Toledo. Their riches and power, their alliances and kindred embraced all that Spain possessed most august in rank and learning. The chieftain of Mendoza, the duque de Infantado, however, seldom appeared at court, and was ambitious of no political eminence. The duke was well advanced in years; and preferred the luxurious retirement of his palace at Guadalupe, to the restraint of the court. The marquis de Cenete his son and heir, possessed talents of no striking order. The cause and the political pre-eminence of the Mendozas, therefore, was represented by Philip's favourite, Ruy Gomez de Silva, prince of Eboli, who was, however, a

¹ Doña Maria Enriquez de Alba de Liste.

² Daughter of the condesa de Urueña,

Mendoza only by alliance. The career of this celebrated personage affords the most remarkable instance of the acquisition of power and enormous wealth by the personal favour of the sovereign alone, maintained without declension or reverse to the close of life. Ruy Gomez sprang from the Portuguese ducal house of Sylva. He first came to Spain in 1526, in the train of Isabel, consort of the emperor Charles V. Ruy Gomez supported the imperial mantle of the young empress, during the ceremony of her espousals in the chapel of the Alhambra. At this period Ruy Gomez was only eight years old ; but the winning vivacity of the boy's manner attracted Isabel's regard, and he was retained at the Spanish court, as one of her favourite pages of honour. On the birth of Philip II. at Valladolid, the mother of Ruy Gomez, Doña Beatrice de Silva was appointed nurse to the new born prince ; while her son was nominated chief page in waiting to the infant heir. He continued afterwards to study with Philip under the same preceptors ; and together they acquired the chivalrous accomplishments of the age. Philip showed the greatest fondness for his young companion, and upon all occasions demonstrated this preference. One day, Ruy Gomez was quarrelling with another page, when Philip as usual, interposed, on behalf of the former. During the heat of the dispute, Gomez aimed a blow at his opponent, which accidentally fell on the head of the prince and knocked him down. The delinquent was immediately arrested,

and condemned to death according to the laws of the realm, by the emperor Charles V. Philip was no sooner informed of this sentence than he fell into violent paroxysms of rage and grief. He absolutely rejected the remedies prescribed for his bruise by the physicians; and insisted upon being admitted to intercede for his friend before his imperial father. The sentence pronounced upon Ruy Gomez was in consequence commuted into perpetual banishment from court; and his father received commands to send his son back to Portugal, accompanied by the intimation, that if Gomez was again seen within the Spanish frontier, the original sentence would be enforced. Philip sullenly acquiesced in this decree; but from thenceforth nothing seemed to give him pleasure or gratification. The prince refused to study, or to join in the pastime of his youthful companions. He wept incessantly at his separation from his earliest friend; and so alarming became his melancholy, that the empress, at length, united her intercession with that of her son, and prayed Charles to recall the exile to court.¹

After the marriage of Philip in 1542, Ruy Gomez was appointed grand cup-bearer, and principal chamberlain to the prince. The sombre and reserved Philip delighted in the society of his gifted favourite, whose generous temper and ready tact rendered him universally popular. Subsequently, Ruy Gomez accepted the office of governor to the prince Don

¹ Badoero, Relazione, Bib. Imp. Colbert, 5486.

Carlos. His marriage with the richest lady in Spain, Doña Ana de Mendoza, daughter and sole heiress of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, conde de Melito, was subsequently accomplished by the favour and direct interposition of the sovereign. The fortunate Ruy Gomez was, moreover, himself decorated with the title of conde de Melito, on the elevation of the father of his bride, to the rank of duque de Francavilla; a title conceded in acknowledgment of Don Diego's acquiescence in the union of his heiress with Philip's Portuguese *protégé*.

When Philip was summoned to the Netherlands by his imperial father in 1548, he was accompanied by the conde de Melito. At the council board, the tourney, the banquet, and the dance, Ruy Gomez was Philip's inseparable companion. He was always ready to support his haughty master; to sooth the wounds inflicted by the prince's disdainful manner; and to interpret to the Flemings the few condescending speeches which the remonstrances of the emperor, wrung from Philip, who always persisted in speaking Castilian, careless whether his auditory understood the language or not. Before the abdication of the emperor, and for some period subsequent to that event, the conde de Melito possessed, or was supposed to possess little political power. He was Philip's privileged friend; he slept in the chamber of the prince; he was his second in the tourney, and the

¹ The mother of Doña Ana was a Silva, which established parentage between the heiress of Don Diego and Ruy Gómez.

confidant of his amours—but beyond this, the power of Ruy Gomez, an alien in Castile, was not believed to extend.

The conde de Melito was gifted with great powers of penetration. He was supple; for his temper was always under perfect command—fluent of speech, and versed in courtly craft. Being neither vain nor ostentatious, he avoided collision with the haughty *hidalgos* of Spain. Never presuming, Ruy Gomez was seldom molested; and imperceptibly he acquired that hold over the mind of Philip, which, until it was thoroughly secured he was content to be esteemed and treated as the humble *protégé* and companion of his master's leisure hours. An instance of his refined method of paying court to Philip is thus related by Brantôme.¹ One day during Philip's first visit to Flanders, he was playing at a game of cards called *Primero* with Ruy Gomez and the conde de Feria; the duke of Alba and another cavalier being umpires of the game. The prince manifested much eagerness to win the stake, which consisted of more than 20,000 crowns. After playing for some time, Philip exclaimed that he had *primero*, and laid down his cards, claiming the honours of the game. Ruy Gomez, however, at the time held some higher point than his royal master. Instead of proclaiming this advantage, he quietly directed the attention of one of the umpires to the cards in his hand, and observing "*Je le quitte*," he mingled them with the remaining

¹ Capitaines Illustres, vie de Don Jean d'Autriche.

cards of the pack, and congratulated the prince on his fortune at play. The next day one of the umpires informed Philip of the incident, lauding the disinterestedness displayed by Ruy Gomez, to whom the sum of 20,000 crowns, at this period, would have been no small gain. The prince was charmed with his favourite's delicacy; he summoned him to his presence, and requested to know why he had thus acted. Ruy Gomez replied, "Alteza, I wished not to disturb the joy and contentment which you evidently seemed to feel at having won our game. A good servant should always avoid causing his master vexation of spirit; and it is his duty to please, and serve him, especially in such a trifling matter as the incident of yesterday." It was by such deferential concessions that Ruy Gomez gained over the proud spirit of Philip; the king tacitly forgot to exact respect from one who never gave him opportunity to perceive its absence. The courtly forbearance of the conde de Melito was rewarded by a present from Philip of thrice the amount ceded.

After Philip's union with Mary Tudor, Ruy Gomez accompanied his royal master into England. At the conferences of Cateau, he was one of the ambassadors appointed to negotiate Philip's marriage with Elizabeth de Valois; and on the solemnization of that alliance he was present in Paris, as one of the envoys of the Catholic king. After the return of Philip into Spain he created his favourite, prince of Eboli, and counsellor of state. From this period,

therefore, dates the political career of Ruy Gomez, and his contest with the duke of Alba, chief of the House of Toledo.

Doña Ana de Mendoza, the consort of the prince, filled a very conspicuous post at court; and but for the recent elevation of her husband to the grandeeship, would have obtained the much coveted office of *camaréra* to the young queen, instead of the condesa de Urueña. She was a woman of intrepid spirit, proud of her wealth and illustrious descent, and unscrupulous in her actions. At the time of Elizabeth's marriage, the princess of Eboli was about twenty-six years old: her face and figure were very beautiful, the only defect in her features being the unpleasant expression given by a slight cast of the eyes.¹ Her relations with Philip were the subject of much private speculation in the outwardly decorous court of Spain, where a *maîtresse à titre*, such as the duchesse de Valentinois was to Elizabeth's royal father, would have been regarded as a scandalous outrage on religion and morals. Philip always conducted such affairs with impenetrable secrecy—not that he would have felt ashamed of the consequent scandal, but that the sanctity of the majestic “*yo el Rey*” might have been sullied by the comments of the vulgar, and the jests of his court. It was known only, therefore, at the court of Toledo,

¹ Salazar y Castro, *Hist. de la Casa de Silva*, t. II. It has been asserted by most historians that the princess of Eboli had only one eye. This is not a fact—her defect was “*los ojos bisojos*.”

that the beautiful wife of Ruy Gomez, had once ruled supreme over matters in which she condescended to interfere; and that her young son, created by Philip, duque de Pastrana while in his cradle, had the fair hair and complexion, and the pouting lip of Hapsburg, rather than the olive skin and the dark tresses of the Portuguese Silvas. It was conjectured by the courtiers that Antonio Perez, one of Philip's four secretaries of state, a man then rising into favour, had been the medium of the king's communication with the princess of Eboli; and that Ruy Gomez feigned to be, or really was ignorant of the favour possessed by his consort. The princess of Eboli and her husband attached themselves sincerely to the interests of the young queen; they espoused her resentments, and united with her to obtain the overthrow of the excessive influence possessed by the duke of Alba and his kindred. At the time of Elizabeth's arrival at the court of Spain, Ruy Gomez, "the record of whose acts for one day would form a perfect manual for the life of an ordinary courtier," occupied no place of importance in the council.

The character of the duke of Alba offered a complete contrast to that of the supple rival preparing so dexterously to supplant him. Stern, despotic, and a persecutor of those who differed from him in religion and politics, the duke of Alba revered nothing but his own relentless will. A greater autocrat at heart than the cautious and temporizing Philip, the duke looked

with contempt on the diplomacy of the Spanish cabinet. When any obstacle presented itself, Alba would fain have severed it with the sword, instead of intrusting its solution to the pens of sharp-witted secretaries of state. The duke's talents for military government, were of the highest order: and the veterans of Charles V. hailed him as a worthy successor to Pescara, Leyva, and the military chieftains, whose victories had almost placed Europe beneath the sceptre of the Hapsburg. In his deportment, Alba was one of the most polished and chivalrous nobles of the court. His establishments were on a magnificent scale, and could worthily compete with the state maintained by the Mendoza.

The three secretaries of state, Matheo Vasquez de Molina, Francisco Eraso, and Antonio Perez, though not amongst the ranks of the *titulados*, were important personages at the court of Toledo. They possessed the privilege of admission to the presence of the king at stated hours daily; a favour considered to be a source of much influence, as Philip could rarely be induced to grant private audiences to any of the mere courtiers. The policy of Philip II., moreover, seldom suffered the assemblage together at court of the great nobles of Spain. That brilliant throng, so caressed and decorated by Charles V., was viewed with dislike and suspicion by his son and successor. The chief of Gusman, the duke de Medina Sidonia, as long as he remained absent from court, held, unmolested, almost royal sway over

Andalusia. The duke de Medina Celi, head of the Cerdas, and the lineal representative of the elder branch of the reigning family of Spain,¹ was intrusted with the vice-regal sceptre of Sicily; while the duque de Albuquerque governed Navarre. The majesty and pre-eminence of the sovereign, the subordination of the courtiers, and the realization of the policy of the cabinet, were in the opinion of the jealous Philip, best consulted by the dispersion of his most potent vassals, and their absence from the capital.

The personage upon whom Elizabeth chiefly depended for friendship and society was Philip's sister, Doña Juana, princess of Portugal. From her infancy, the princess had lived in the ceremonious courts of the Peninsula; her manners, therefore, were rigid and undemonstrative. Like her brother Philip, she entertained most exalted ideas of regal prerogative, and of the pre-eminence of the Hapsburg. Her temper, however, was kind, equal, and considerate. At an early age, the hand of Juana had been bestowed, by her imperial father, on prince John of Portugal, son and heir of John III, and of Catherine, sister of the emperor. The prince died soon after his marriage, in 1554, leaving an infant son by Juana. The haughty and reserved deportment of

¹ The duke de Medina Celi descended from Fernando de la Cerda, eldest son of Alonzo el Sabio. This prince died during his father's lifetime, leaving two sons by his consort Blanche de Bourbon. Alonzo XI. died in 1284, when the crown was seized by his brother Sancho el Bravo, to the exclusion of his infant nephews. The sons of Blanche de Bourbon found a refuge in France.

the daughter of Charles V. had failed to conciliate the Portuguese; or to enlist the sympathy of her mother-in-law and aunt, queen Catherine, who was a princess of masculine understanding, and great political talent. On the decease of John III, in 1557, the Infant Sebastian succeeded to the crown; but the regency was bestowed on his grandmother Catherine, to the exclusion of the princess Juana, who, however, was then wielding the vice-regal sceptre of Spain for her brother Philip. By a vote of the Cortes, the princess was even deprived of the personal guardianship of her son. This slight was greatly resented by Juana, and also by her father, Charles V; and probably the abdication of the emperor, alone prevented the princess from being placed in forcible possession of her maternal rights.

Juana, on the death of her husband, had retired into Spain; and in 1556, after the abdication of the emperor, she assumed the government of that realm, during the absence of Philip in Germany and the Low Countries. Juana administered the affairs of Spain with so much ability, as to give complete satisfaction to her father and her brother. Her correspondence with the emperor at Yuste, exhibits her talents in a very favourable light. She seems to have governed in most arbitrary fashion, taking counsel of no one, but her imperial father; and holding the grandees of the court in complete subjection. It was to his sister that Philip intrusted the execution of his mandate for the arrest of the archbishop of

Toledo,¹ upon a charge of heresy; and accordingly the sign manual of the princess is appended to the warrant which consigned a primate, so eminent for learning, to the dungeons of the Inquisition of Valladolid. Juana, moreover, signalized her zeal for the Romish faith, by commanding, in 1558, the incarceration of several noble ladies and cavaliers for the crime of heresy—at the express injunction, however of the emperor—amongst whom were Don Carlos de Sessa, Don Pedro de Sarmiento and his wife, Don Luis de Rojas, grandson and heir of the marquis de Poza, and Doña Ana Borgia,² a young lady of great beauty and piety. These personages were also committed to the dungeons of the Holy Office at Valladolid, on the warrant of Doña Juana. The emperor congratulated his daughter on the firmness which she had displayed in conjunction with the grand inquisitor Valdès, archbishop of Seville. “Believe, daughter,” says the mighty Charles, in one of his letters on the subject, to the princess regent, “that this affair has caused me heavy solicitude, and has given me so much grief that I cannot describe it, seeing that whilst both the king and myself were

¹ Fray Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda, archbishop of Toledo. This prelate was eminent for his learning and zeal. He had been confessor to Philip, and in that capacity accompanied the king to England, where his cruel zeal earned him the sobriquet of “the black monk.” He assisted the emperor Charles V. on his death-bed; and principally for words, it is surmised, he used on that occasion, he was arrested by the Inquisition. Valdès was the archbishop’s personal enemy, and coveted the possession of the rich archiepiscopal see of Toledo.

² Daughter of the marquesa de Alcañizas.

absent from these kingdoms, the realm was in peace, and free from this disgrace; but now when I am come hither to seek repose, and in retirement to serve our Lord, there has happened in my presence, and in your own, this foul and shameful event, perpetrated by individuals, followers of those from whom in Germany I have suffered such labours, and costs, and have incurred the loss of my health. Were it not for the reliance which I place in you, and in the council of state, that you will at once eradicate this evil, because as yet it is a beginning without root or strength, by inflicting condign and ample chastisement on the guilty, I know not whether I should not myself leave this place, and take the remedy in my own hands.”¹ The emperor in this intemperate despatch observes next, that he doubts whether the guilty ought to claim the clement consideration of the Church, which had hitherto pardoned heretics on a first conviction, and subsequent recantation. He desires the princess to take counsel whether the accused cannot be indicted as, “seditious and scandalous rebels, and disturbers of the public peace,” and, therefore, to be deemed unworthy of mercy; and advises that all heretics of whatever condition or sect should be burned alive, and their goods confiscated,² (*quemados y confiscada su hacienda*). Such was the religious policy which animated the court of

¹ Lettre de l'Empereur, à la princesse Doña Juana. Gachard, *Retraite de Charles V.*—Original Despatches, t. i. p. 298, 299.—Yuste, à 25 de Mayo de 1558.

² Ibid.

Spain on the arrival of Elizabeth : while some of these unhappy prisoners, whose death had been decreed by the emperor, were still detained in the prisons of the Holy Office at Valladolid.

When the household of Elizabeth had been finally arranged, de l'Aubespine applied for the settlement of the pecuniary claims to which the queen was entitled under her marriage contract. Many difficulties beset this point : the towns upon the revenues of which former royal dowers were secured, were found to have been mortgaged by the emperor during the course of his long wars. The revenues of ten towns,¹ were at length assigned to various high personages to hold in trust for Elizabeth in case of her widowhood. A most liberal civil list, moreover, was tendered by king Philip. Elizabeth's private revenue, while queen consort, was fixed at the yearly sum of 60,000 crowns ; "his majesty, moreover, has given orders to his treasurers to furnish the queen with any sum she may require over and above her stipulated income." Philip at the same time remodelled his own household; the expenditure of which he fixed at the annual sum of 150,000 ducats : the cost of Elizabeth's state household was limited to 56,000 ducats : that of the prince Don Carlos, to 32,000 ducats.² To the princess Juana the king assigned a revenue of 16,000

¹ The towns of Soria, Molina, Aranda, Sepulveda, Camon, Alcaras, San-Clemente, Albarata, Villanueva de la Para, Villaderez.

² Memoria de las viendas y patrimonias del rey de España, del año, 1561, MS. Cotton, Vesp. 217, C. VII. A thousand ducats is £475 sterling.

ducats. The duties of the French ambassador at the Spanish court at this season, and during the few following years, were of the most onerous kind. Besides having special charge to observe the conduct of the young queen, the chief points which he was required to direct and report upon were—first, the relations between the crowns of England and Spain: secondly, to confirm Philip in his support of the Catholic party in France: thirdly, to report to queen Catherine privately, the enterprises, and the secret overtures made to Philip by the princes of Lorraine Guise: fourthly, to bring about a marriage between Catherine's youngest daughter, Marguerite de Valois, with Don Carlos: fifthly, to keep in order, and to report to Catherine the actions of the French ladies in Elizabeth's suite: finally, to use every artifice to obtain the overthrow of the duke of Alba, and the elevation of the house of Mendoza to power in the councils of Spain.

The openly expressed discontent of those persons who were to return into France greatly chagrined the queen, and gave full employment to the French ambassador. This factious conduct, however, diminished the regret which Elizabeth felt at dismissing these personages; and, one day, she took de l'Aubespine apart, and said, "that now she knew by experience that the greatest good that could happen to her, would be to send all away excepting those servants who had proved themselves tried and con-

fidential, and that she had resolved so to act.” The decision taken respecting the dismissal of the hungry throng sent with the queen, was approved by Francis II, and his ministers, who were at this period on bad terms with Catherine de Medici. “We approve of the resolution taken to dismiss all those people who accompanied the queen into Spain,” wrote the cardinal de Lorraine; “we moreover deem your purpose good to content the king her husband in this matter, inasmuch as the said lady has to live in Spain; premising only, that her majesty is at liberty to keep about her those most necessary to her comfort, which has been done.”

To celebrate the queen’s recovery, Philip commanded a grand combat on foot, in which the principal cavaliers of his court contended, in the court-yard of the Alcazar. The king also planned a joust for the approaching season of Lent, which was strictly kept by the Spanish court; all balls, and banquetings being forbidden. On the Sunday preceding Shrove Tuesday, the king went to Assegna, a hunting box belonging to the crown about nine miles from Toledo, whither his favourite stud of horses was conveyed, to make preparation for these joustings which were to take place there, during the second week in Lent. The king remained absent at Assegna until the evening of Shrove Tuesday, when

¹ L’Evêque de Limoges à la reine mère. *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 297.

his majesty returned in time to sup with his consort. During the interval of the king's absence, Elizabeth received two visits from Don Carlos, whom she entertained with dances, games, and various pastimes. The young prince who was not yet cured of his fever, had become so depressed in spirits, that nothing seemed to interest him, except the society of the queen, and her lively French maidens. The queen treated him as a sullen and froward child, coaxing him by smiles and expostulation into good humour. Don Carlos had conceived a great aversion for his aunt, Doña Juana, and avoided her presence as much as possible ; for the measures for coercing the unruly spirit of the prince suggested by his grandfather, had been enforced with characteristic energy by la Princesa, as Juana was called at the Spanish court, and had earned for her unsparing abuse from the lips of her graceless nephew.

During the season of Lent, the royal pair had to submit to a temporary separation ; as Philip, in his devout zeal, spent most of this period in visiting shrines and relics. Elizabeth kept Passion Week in retirement at Toledo with the princess Juana, "making such show of devotion and fervour as is meet in princes who set their subjects a good example."¹ Philip departed on a pilgrimage to Calatrava, where he so sedulously applied himself to fulfil his religious duties as to bring on severe

¹ Dépêche de M. de Limoges à la reine mère. Négociations sous François II., p. 351.

indisposition. Elizabeth addressed two letters to her consort while he was at Calatrava; "to look at the Catholic queen," writes the ambassador, "one may perceive that she wants but the presence of the king to make her the happiest princess in the universe."

During the absence of Philip, the conde de Benevente invited the queen and her ladies to partake of a collation in the hall of his palace at Toledo. The repast was composed of fifty dishes; twenty-five being of exquisite confectionary and dried fruits, and the remaining dishes contained all manner of fish. The guests were served by pages in magnificent liveries; and each dish was placed on the table amid a flourish of trumpets. The last dish brought before her majesty was a trout, which weighed twenty-two pounds. There was besides, a profusion of exquisite wine, and drinks in every variety. The queen and her ladies did ample justice, it is recorded, to the entertainment, and departed greatly satisfied with the courtesy of their host—but adds the chronicler, "this feast so profuse and lavish, carried its evil effects; for other lords of the court emulating its magnificence spent their substance in revels, while many poor in the realm were perishing from hunger."¹ Philip seems to have allowed the queen perfect liberty to amuse herself as she wished. None of the restrictions which fettered the consorts of succeeding monarchs of Spain, restrained Elizabeth's actions; the *camaréra*-

¹ Florez. Vidas de las Reynas Catolicas.

mayor, fulfilled the functions of her office in complete subordination to the commands of her royal mistress ; for Philip insisted on most reverential respect being paid to his consort.

In France, meanwhile, the condition of parties had become such, as to compel Catherine and her son, Francis II. to avail themselves of the good understanding, described in such glowing terms by de l'Aubespine, existing between Philip II. and his consort. The rigorous edicts against heresy ; the cruel executions consequent upon them ; and the intolerant attitude of the court, exasperated the party opposed to the pretensions of the princes of Lorraine, and threatened the gravest troubles. Francis and his ministers took for their model of government the *regime* established by Philip II. in the Netherlands. They published sanguinary edicts ; they garrisoned the fortresses of France to overawe the inhabitants of the provinces ; the sovereign was surrounded by guards, the princes of the blood were banished from court ; and the uncle of the young queen, the cardinal de Lorraine, took upon himself the odious office of president of the tribunal of les Chambres Ardentes, a court established during the regency of the duchesse d'Angoulême, in 1525, and termed by the pope, "the French Inquisition." In Scotland, the fatal policy of the Guises, had been followed by a general rebellion. The queen-regent, Marie de Lorraine, found it impossible to enforce the edict

decreeing the suppression of the " Calvinistic heresy." A reinforcement of three thousand men, under La Brosse, had been sent to the regent to enable her to crush the Protestant faction. The Scottish confederates, therefore, the Earl of Arran, Sir William Maitland, and others, sent an embassy to the queen of England, praying her majesty to support the Lords of the Congregation, as they termed themselves, in their defiance of the bloody and oppressive edicts issued by Francis and Mary. Elizabeth, who well knew the designs of the Guises on the English crown, and that one of their projects in establishing the Romish Faith, and an arbitrary government in Scotland, was the more easily to dethrone her in favour of their niece, Mary Stuart, sagaciously resolved to give each and every one of her enemies enough to do within his own dominions. She accordingly sent a body of troops into Scotland, under Lord Grey, who laid siege to Leith, where La Brosse and the French had retired, after a successful expedition against the malcontent lords. Francis II. despatched Montluc, bishop of Valence, to England, to remonstrate with Elizabeth on the support which she gave to his rebellious subjects, and even offered to restore Calais, if she would recall her army from Scotland. But the queen replied, " that she was ready to withdraw her troops when the king of France should do so likewise, and, moreover, grant liberty of conscience to his subjects in Scotland, who were her neighbours, and whom she would not see

oppressed." At the same time, Elizabeth opened secret relations with the Bourbon princes in France, through her ambassador, Throckmorton; also, with the prince of Orange, and with Philip's Flemish malcontents.

The rage of the cardinal de Lorraine, and his brother, at these bold proceedings on the part of the English queen, is displayed by the ludicrous vehemence of the despatch which they sent to l'Aubespine, directing him to solicit the interference of Philip in repressing the insolence of "*cette reine d'Angleterre*." "Mons. de Limoges," wrote the duke de Guise,¹ "you must straitly represent to the Catholic king, the regret which our king feels to be obliged to break the peace of Christendom, now so happily secured, owing to the obstination of this said lady. You will, therefore, represent to the Catholic king that such must be the case unless his majesty resolves upon addressing a good, gallant, and stringent remonstrance to the said lady, notifying to her that unless she accepts the honourable conditions proposed by the king, and abandons the protection of the Scotch heretics, he will embrace the cause of God, and will favour and aid the king his brother, by arms, and every means in his power to devise." Catherine wrote a despatch on the same matter to de l'Aubespine. She, moreover, addressed the following letter to her daughter, praying Elizabeth to support the demands of the ambassador.

¹ Le Cardinal et François de Lorraine à M. de Limoges. Négociations sous François II., p. 386.

CATHERINE DE MEDICI TO ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN.

“Madame ma Fille,

“You will learn from the bishop of Limoges, the distress in which I am plunged, to find that the queen of England is intent upon committing such grave and grievous folly (in regard to Scotland), unless the king, Monsieur mon bon fils, your husband, affords us a remedy. Therefore, m’amy, I pray you, if you have any influence with the king your husband, speak to him, so that he may notify sharply, to the said queen, his displeasure that she should kindle such contention. As respects this realm, I assure you I will take precautions, that while I live, your brother shall not be the first to begin a war; for I should esteem it a great misfortune to break the repose, which I anticipated must result from the holy peace, so lately concluded. I desire that you will show this letter to the king your husband, wherein he will read the affectionate commendations of

“Vostre bonne mère,

“CATHERINE.”¹

The young queen obeyed her mother’s injunctions, and did all in her power to induce Philip to declare himself against the queen of England. The duke of Alba, moreover, aided her endeavours. Elizabeth, however, was as yet too young to play a political rôle in the Spanish cabirret; and Catherine did her daughter great injury by her perpetual attempts to incite the queen to interfere in the government. The siege of Leith was terminated to the triumph of the English

¹ La royne mère à la royne Catholique.—Négociations sous François II., p. 762.

queen and the confederated lords, by the treaty of Edinburgh, which the French hastily concluded, in order to withdraw their troops from Scotland, to put down the still more formidable conspiracy of Amboise.

Queen Catherine, meantime, wrote a second despatch to the French ambassador to testify her satisfaction at the reception of her daughter in Spain—on the munificent establishment conferred upon her by Philip—and at the affection which he averred existed between the royal pair. “M. de Limoges,” wrote queen Catherine,¹ “I cannot express the satisfaction which you confer upon me, by sending me such news of the queen my daughter, even to her most trifling actions, as you have done. You may believe what pleasure it gives me to hear that she is so much loved by the king her husband, and esteemed by his subjects; also, it gratifies me to learn that she demeans herself so as to give entire satisfaction to the said king and his ministers. In all which, M. l’ambassadeur, I do not overlook the gratitude which she owes to you; although, God be thanked, her understanding has always been such, that I believed when she undertook any matter, she would perform it well; yet by reason of her youth, she cannot yet have sufficient experience and knowledge of the world. I know, therefore, how greatly your wise counsel has benefited her—also, in the affair of

¹ La royne mère à M. de Limoges.—Négociations sous François II., p. 458.

the condesa de Urueña,¹ in which my daughter could not have acted better than she did, for to all courtiers who forget the respect and veneration they owe to their masters and mistresses, such treatment is due. The circumstance that pleases me most, however, is to hear that the king her husband approved of her conduct in that affair, which demonstrates greatly the love he bears his consort, the which, I pray by the grace of God may daily augment." Catherine then expatiates on a journey to the frontier which she had contemplated to see her daughter; a design communicated by Elizabeth to her husband, who had expressed his approval of the project. The queen, however, states that the troubles in France will compel her to defer this pleasure until the following year (1561), "but that the ambassador must not assign that as the cause; but rather invent some pretext of his own," as, says Catherine, "you can say that I am getting stouter in body, and, therefore, cannot travel as I used to do; or that the winter promises to be too rigorous for so long a journey." In all cases the ambassador was to be careful to prevent the king from believing that personal indifference was the reason of Catherine's delay.

The cabals, meantime, at the court of Toledo, in the cabinet of the king, and in the household of the queen continued with unmitigated animosity during

¹ Catherine alludes to the manner in which Elizabeth defended the royal rights of madame de Rieux and mademoiselle de Montpensier at Pamplona, against the assumptions of the camaréra-mayor.

the whole of the summer of the year 1560. The duke of Alba, as an old and faithful servant of the emperor, and one well versed in the policy pursued by the cabinets of Brussels and Toledo, had been tacitly permitted, on Philip's accession, to usurp the chief control over affairs. The duke, in his turn, was pleased to divide this influence with the cardinal de Granvelle, a prelate as well trained in diplomatic tactics, as Alba was in military matters. Granvelle, abetted by the duke, soon acquired an extraordinary power over his reserved, yet imperious master. The French ambassador at Brussels states that his Eminence undertook to decide state negotiations without the previous assent of Philip; and that he affected to grant audiences to envoys of foreign states after they had delivered their credentials to the king. Philip, however, appreciated the astute and comprehensive intellect of the cardinal; his courtly and genial manners, like those of Ruy Gomez, fascinated the king; while his insinuating eloquence dissipated any misgivings which his majesty might occasionally feel relative to the wisdom of the decisions made by the privy council. On the departure of Philip for Spain, Granvelle was appointed minister to the regent Marguerite duchess of Parma, and president of the council of state. The duke of Alba accompanied his royal master to Spain, where he purposed to play a similar rôle. The prince of Eboli, however, nightly enjoyed a private converse of two hours with his royal master, after the suite had withdrawn; it

being his privilege, as first lord of the bedchamber, to light the taper in his majesty's apartment, and to place the king's sword on a table near the bed. The haughty and patronizing manners of the duke of Alba, and his kinsmen, were not a subject of converse always avoided by the favoured Ruy Gomez, and produced a proportionate effect on the mind of the king.

After the conclusion of the rejoicings for the marriage of Philip, the feud between the families of Mendoza and Toledo had been renewed with augmented virulence. The great nobles generally espoused the party of Alba; for Ruy Gomez was regarded by them as an alien; and jealousy at the king's preference for a foreigner, united with the hate which always surrounds a favourite in courts. The prince of Eboli occupied no position of importance in the Spanish ministry. For some time, he had avoided a conflict with his rival in power, and it is stated conducted himself as modestly, and submissively towards the duke as could be desired. At this juncture, the prince commanded the support of the Mendoza and their kindred. The duque de Francavilla, his father-in-law, the marquis de Mondejar president of the council of Castile, Diego de Chavès, confessor to the king, and the count de Alba de Liste supported his interests. The secretary of state, Francisco Eraso, moreover, was his active friend; and rendered the prince good service during his *tête-à-tête* interviews with his royal master. The duke of Alba being determined to put

down "the adventurer" as he termed Ruy Gomez, privately applied for the aid of the Inquisition, that terrible arm of private vengeance—and made a formal demand to the grand inquisitor, Valdès, archbishop of Seville, that certain points in the theological code of the favourite might be investigated. This incident occurred during the month of June following the arrival of Elizabeth de Valois in Spain. After Valdès had commenced his scrutiny, the step became a short one for the supposed culprit, between his happy home, and the vaults of the Holy Office in Valladolid. Rank and favour availed nothing; the dark-mantled familiars of the Inquisition inspired awe, even in the royal bosom—*sin respeto de persona, de qualquier estado y condicion que fuesse*—were the words of the warrant upon which the officials of the dreaded court pursued their investigations.

Warned betimes of his impending danger, Ruy Gomez, by the advice of his royal master, relinquished his post—that of assistant-superintendent of finance—and withdrew from court under pretext of failing health. Afterwards it was announced by Philip himself, that the prince of Eboli was confined to his bed with a severe attack of quartan ague, and was not to be molested upon any pretext whatever. From that day forwards, however, the duke of Alba was subjected to the most humiliating affronts. Eraso, the secretary who worked with Philip, counteracted Alba's directions in every way—safe in so doing, as

the mandates were drawn under the eye of the king himself. If the duke wished to bestow a favour, to nominate to an office, or to present to a benefice, Spanish routine required that the letters-patent should be laid before the king by the chief secretary for the royal sign-manual, and afterwards as a mere form, to be countersigned by that functionary. The duke now generally found his directions evaded, and his nominee rejected for another unknown claimant, whose name was inserted by the hand of Philip himself.

The French ambassador seems to have been very constant at this season in his visits to Ruy Gomez, divining probably, with the astuteness for which he was celebrated, that Alba could not long maintain his contest with the favourite of the sovereign. De l'Aubespine generally found the prince in bed, lamenting over his destiny. "I often visit Ruy Gomez, to console him under his malady, and to beg him, when opportunity presented itself, to mention certain matters to the king," writes the wily bishop.¹ "His discourse is more frank than that of the duke of Alba. The prince terms the latter, "a melancholy foe of mankind, who ruins his master and his court; and, who wishes to introduce again into Spain, the gloomy manner of life of the deceased emperor." While affairs remained in this condition, the duke de

¹ Mémoire dressé par l'évêque de Limoges, et envoyé au cardinal de Lorraine. Récit des différends survenus entre les grands d'Espagne, et des motifs qui ont déterminé le duc d'Albe de quitter la cour. Négociations sous François II., p. 558.

Sessa,¹ governor of the Milanese arrived at Toledo. In the duke, Ruy Gomez found a potent ally. The pique felt by Philip against his minister; and his desire for the return of the prince of Eboli, at length, became so evident that Alba began to consider the expediency of a voluntary retreat from court, when his resolution to demand *congé*, was hastened by the following incident. The duke, in virtue of his dignity of *hidalgo*, possessed a key which opened the door of his majesty's private cabinet. When the king was transacting state business in his closet with Eraso, it was Philip's habit to leave his own key in the lock, which prevented unseemly intrusion; and was always regarded as an intimation that the king would admit nobody to his presence. One day the duke of Alba, presenting himself, found that the king was engaged alone with Eraso. In his capacity of minister of state, he knocked and demanded admission. The secretary approached the door, and enquired who sought his majesty's presence. The duke responded; but as no answer was returned, he was, therefore, obliged to wait in the anti-chamber during a full hour, with other courtiers of inferior degree. This indignity roused the fiery passions of Alba; and when Eraso issued from the apartment of the king, the duke approached the secretary, and exclaimed, in a menacing tone, "*hasta las puertas*:" meaning to demand, thereby, whether the secretary's pre-

¹ Of the house of Cordova—conde de Cabra, señor de Buena. The duke's hereditary revenues amounted to 34,000 ducats.

sumption went the length, even of forbidding him the *entrée* to the royal presence. Eraso made an angry reply; and some high words ensued, upon which, the secretary returned to his royal master, and requested him to attest that the duke's exclusion had been by his command. This statement Philip accordingly confirmed without assigning any cause for inflicting so great an insult upon his minister in the presence of his subordinate in office. The duke's indignation was augmented almost beyond bounds, when he ascertained that during the audience, from which he was so ignominiously excluded, many matters were debated and decided, appertaining exclusively to his own patronage and jurisdiction.¹ Alba's independent method of transacting affairs, however, had been deeply offensive to Philip, who entertained, and justly so, a high opinion of his own diplomatic *savoir*; and whose habits were most industrious in the despatch of business. The king required that every state paper should be submitted for his perusal—when he indicated his opinions and decision thereon by marginal notes. If the documents were of great length, the secretaries of state made an analysis to submit to his majesty. Almost all the state papers of Philip's reign, preserved at Simancas, and elsewhere, have annotations and remarks in the king's own hand, which invest the political history of the era with peculiar interest and

¹ Recit des differends entre les grands d'Espagne, etc. Négociations sous François II.

distinctness. The French ambassador, de l'Aubespine, renders the following testimony to Philip's studious disposition, and habits of application: "I find this king, Monseigneur," wrote he to the cardinal de Lorraine,¹ "very sufficient, and versed in his affairs; he never loses an hour; but sits all day long examining his papers and despatches, as I have the means of ascertaining from the intimacy which he has seen fit lately to grant me. He is a prince of great veracity, disposed to friendship, and willing to listen to reasonable advice, when it is tendered frankly." The duke of Alba did not sufficiently respect this his master's independence; and he even displayed an irritable jealousy at Philip's interference in affairs of state. One day the duke, with his sons, the marquis de Soria, and the prior of Leon, Don Antonio de Toledo, entered the king's cabinet, to remonstrate with his majesty on some affair which had been decided by Philip with Eraso. They found the king alone, absorbed, as usual, and deep in the study of despatches on the affairs of Italy. Philip looked up, surprised, as the duke and his sons entered, without having previously sent to request audience. The king then rose, and glancing indignantly at the duke, before Alba had time to mention his errand, he gathered up his papers, and passed into an adjoining apartment, and for several days afterwards, refused to speak to, or even hear the duke's name mentioned.

¹ Dépêche de l'Evêque de Limoges—Négociations, etc., sous François II., p. 49.

A dispute in the council between Alba and the newly arrived duke de Sessa, in which the king took the part of the latter, at length convinced the duke that a temporary absence from court would best serve his interests, and perhaps restore his credit with Philip. He accordingly demanded and obtained permission to visit his town and castle of Alba. The Mendoza faction then appeared likely to become paramount over Spain. Ruy Gomez returned to court; but the king, to the surprise of every one, did not bestow upon him the post of minister, though he promoted him in the household; and his favour rose to a height which it had never before attained. The king declared he required no ministers, being competent with the assistance of the secretaries Eraso, Vasquez, and Cayés, to order all matters relative to the government. "Six days after the departure of the duke of Alba," wrote the ambassador de l'Aubespine,¹ "the prince of Eboli recovered from his fever; but he declines to interfere openly with affairs of state, though he passes all his time with his majesty. Eraso, also, has quite recovered from the accident which happened to him lately, and is cured of the injury done him by his fall. He was received as usual by his royal master, who regards him with such favour as to have postponed the decision of several important matters until the secretary's recovery.

¹ Récit des différends entre les grands d'Espagne—Mémoire adressé au cardinal de Lorraine.

Nevertheless, monseigneur, it being quite impossible for a prince, great as may be his talents and application, to conduct, without the aid of ministers of state, the affairs of so mighty a realm, his majesty, since two months, has scarcely stirred from this castle, (of Toledo) or even quitted his cabinet, except to visit the queen; he being himself, sovereign, minister, and secretary, which is a great honour. Affairs, however, are in such notable confusion and backwardness, that all here are in despair, especially those who have to do with Italian matters; so that even the Spaniards themselves predict that matters cannot so continue."

During these cabals, the household of Elizabeth presented likewise a scene of contention and discord. The count de Alba de Liste, major-domo, now executed his functions with very little regard to the wishes, or the comfort of Elizabeth's French ladies. The irritable disposition of the count was aggravated by the perpetual quarrels between the ladies of the household. He persisted in looking upon Elizabeth's countrywomen as interlopers, tolerated only at the Spanish court; and as personages without rank or influence whatever. Even mademoiselle de Montpensier, was treated by the haughty Spaniard with little more consideration. A room was assigned to her in the palace, without a chimney, so that she never could have a fire kindled,—a comfort which her delicate health demanded, even under the climate of Spain. It was

also reported that the count de Alba had so far forgotten himself as to forbid mademoiselle de Montpensier to ride in the queen's coach on several state occasions; and that once, on her refusal to cede the place to the *camaréra-mayor*, the count had seized the train of her robe, and tried to drag her forcibly from the carriage. Another time, it was asserted, that he had taken the cushions from under her while seated with her majesty in the royal litter, in order to compel her to absent herself from a certain ceremony. These stories were repeated with additional embellishments to the duchess de Montpensier by the French in Elizabeth's suite, who had been compelled to quit Spain. Madame de Montpensier was exceedingly wrathful at the alleged ill-treatment which her daughter received at the Spanish court; and she wrote strongly on the subject to the French ambassador. She intimated that her daughter's betrothment to the count d'Eu, heir of the duke de Nevers, was on the point of being ratified by the king; when the young count, accompanied by a suitable suite, would visit Toledo, to escort his *fiancée* back to France. De l'Aubespine wrote to the duchess to assure her, that though her daughter had reason to complain of some harsh treatment from the major-domo, he had never committed so flagrant an outrage as personally to assault a princess of Bourbon. He thinks, nevertheless, that it will be a very politic step to summon mademoiselle de Montpensier back to France, although king Philip showed her great courtesy.

The feud, meantime, between the *camaréra-mayor* and madame de Clermont continued, and disturbed Elizabeth's hours of retirement; a discomfort further aggravated by a misunderstanding which had occurred between mesdames de Clermont and de Vineux. Claude de Nau, the queen's principal tire-woman, alone seems to have considered her mistress's comfort and interest; and to have loved the gentle Elizabeth, better than that personal aggrandizement which rendered the rest of her ladies so rapacious and querulous. Madame de Nau sent the following details of Elizabeth's health and pursuits about this period to queen Catherine. "Madame, since the departure of Luillier, the queen, your daughter, and the king, her husband, have continued in good health. Their good understanding continues, and it seems to me that the queen has lately taken courage to speak more privately and openly on affairs to her husband. The queen told her husband yesterday the reply that she gave to the condesa, and the response made her could not have been more satisfactory. If her majesty continues to act thus, she will cause her dignity and authority to be greatly respected. The dueña, Doña Leonora, of whom I have lately written to your majesty, as showing great affection for her royal mistress, preaches nothing else. The queen and the princess visit her often, and sup together in a garden adjacent to her house, the prince being often of the party, who shows the queen singular attachment, and cannot help avowing it. I believe

that he would desire to be still more nearly related to her majesty. Thus, madame, does the queen spend her time.”¹

The “desire to be more nearly related to the queen,” which Don Carlos felt according to Claude de Nau, had reference to the wish which it was known Catherine de Medici entertained of affiancing the prince to her young daughter, Marguerite de Valois, then in her seventh year. Overtures had already been made by the queen-regent of Portugal to the court of France, to obtain the promise of Marguerite’s future alliance for the infant king of Portugal. Catherine de Medici, however, preferred to give her daughter to Don Carlos, and entered into the negotiation with fervour. Elizabeth had scarcely been in Spain two months before she was urged to forward this marriage; and Catherine incessantly pressed the matter upon her daughter’s attention, with a pertinacity which even the latter, herself, finally resented. “M. de Limoges, if there was hope of alliance with the prince of Spain, we should much prefer it to this present overture:” but in default of the former alliance it would not be politic to reject this, which is the next best that presents itself. You will mention it to the queen of Spain, that she may dexterously contrive to fathom this matter; but you

¹ Lettre de Claude de Nau, à la royne mère — *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 460.

² The overtures made by the regent of Portugal. Sebastian, king of Portugal, was born January, 1554, and was at this period seven years old.

will admonish her as she loves her brother and her sister, to keep the project secret as yet," wrote the cardinal de Lorraine to de l'Aubespine. Catherine herself appended a postscript to the same effect, to a despatch of similar tenor, written by Francis II.

Elizabeth at this period addressed the following spirited letter to her mother, which she sent by M. de Vineux, the husband of her captious lady-in-waiting.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

"Madame,

"As M. de Vineux is returning home, I would not let him leave me without rendering testimony to the zeal with which he has always performed his duty; madame de Vineux likewise having generally fulfilled hers: the which induces me to commend him to your gracious favour, and to entreat you to aid him in any affair he may have in hand. The king my lord, is quite well; he is about to send the prior Don Antonio to you upon some affair that the ambassador will recount, and upon which, therefore, I shall say nothing. The prior is very much favoured by the king, my lord; he is also thought highly of in this court, and is here treated with the honours due to a grandee. I also am indebted to him for services rendered: and I therefore pray you, madame, to give him a gracious reception; as that will encourage him to still greater efforts in my behalf. He is brother to the count de Alba, grand master of my household, who is also a very worthy man, and brother-in-law to the duke de Alba. Madame, Garcillasso de la Véga¹ has recounted to the king, how

¹ An ambassador who had been before despatched by the court of

madame de Montpensier said that the conde de Alba was the cause of all the evil which has befallen her daughter, my cousin : I assure you, madame, that it is not so, as, on the contrary, the count renders *ma cousine* the best service in his power. I counsel, madame, if it seems good to you, that madame de Montpensier should mention this subject to the prior Don Antonio, when he visits your court ; for you are well aware of the obligation which she, and, indeed, all the French ladies owe to the said count his brother—my cousin, especially—seeing that the said count, speaks of her always in terms of high praise.

“Madame, I must not fail to mention how scandalized all here feel, that two of your ships have been furnished to the Moors from the port of Marseilles : for these said ships are now before our fortress, which they are besieging,¹ laden with victuals, cannon balls and powder. Some of the most influential personages of this court have told me that war has arisen from smaller beginnings than this ; but that the friendship which the king, my lord, bears you, inclines him to overlook this, and only to regard the consequences which may therefrom result. They tell me, moreover, that Garcillasso mentioned this circumstance to you, and that you replied, “that the thing was done without your knowledge or assent.” This reply, madame, is not deemed here a sufficient one ; for if such an enterprise had been attempted in this country without the knowledge of the king, my lord, the culprits would have lost their heads : and it is said, madame, that the punish-

Madrid, to Francis II., on affairs relative to the exchange of prisoners of war.

¹ The forts of Oran and Marsaquivir, on the coast of Africa, belonging to the Spanish Crown, which were then besieged by Hascem, viceroy of Algiers, son of the celebrated Corsair Barbarossa. The enemy was eventually repulsed by the Spaniards.

ment ought to be rendered by you as signal as the offence. Knowing well, madame, the great desire which animates you to preserve amity between our two crowns, I have not feared to write thus to you, that you may remedy the evil.

“I will send you some silks by the next courier; and if you think them satisfactory, I can procure more.¹ The bed, which it has pleased you to send me, is begun. I think it will take longer to embroider than you expect; but as soon as it is finished I shall not fail to send it without delay. I think that the pattern will please you; nevertheless, I send it to you so that if you wish for alterations, I can have them made. The prince suffers from fever as usual. The prince of Eboli is recovered. Not wishing to trouble you, madame, with a longer letter, I will conclude by praying God to bestow upon you, health, with a long and happy life.

“Votre très humble, et très obéissante fille,

“ELIZABETH.”²

¹ Granada was then celebrated for the exquisite quality and hues of the silk for embroidery prepared there.

² Lettre de la royne Catholique à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 509.

CHAPTER IV.

Mission of the prior Don Antonio de Toledo to the court of France—Condition of the Spanish court—Anger of king Philip at the insubordination of the ladies of the queen's household—Recal of the duke de Alba—Negotiations respecting the appointments of Elizabeth's household—Decease of Francis II.—Regency of Catherine de Medici—Mary Stuart—Correspondence of Catherine with her daughter—Intrigues to bring about a marriage between the prince of Spain and Mary Stuart—Illness of the queen of Spain—Continued feuds of her court—Her removal to Aranjuez—Duke of Alba appointed grand-master of Elizabeth's household—Changes at court—Letter of the queen of Bohemia to Elizabeth to negotiate for the union of Don Carlos with her daughter, the archduchess Anne of Austria—Reply of the king to the address of the Cortès relative to the marriage of his son.

THE mission of the prior Don Antonio, had reference to the disturbed condition of affairs in France. The conspiracy of Amboise had been suppressed, at the cost of nearly 1200 lives; but although for a season, the Calvinists of France were incapable of resisting the oppressive mandates of the Guise faction, yet the discontent which everywhere prevailed, offered terrible intimation of future vengeance. The Protestant party, headed by the princes of Bourbon,

and the admiral de Coligny and his brothers, in vain attempted to obtain toleration for their faith and the privilege of public worship throughout the realm. At the conferences of Fontainebleau, a memorial had been presented to Francis by the admiral, in presence of queen Catherine and the Guises, setting forth those wrongs which his subjects of the reformed faith urgently prayed his majesty to redress. The king of Navarre supported the demands of his party with all the vigour of which his vacillating nature was capable. Animated by the noble counsels of his consort Jeanne d'Albret, and of his brother Condé, Antoine de Bourbon began, at length, to show himself an enemy worth conciliating. Montmorency held aloof from the court, and absolutely refused to be implicated in the arbitrary proceedings of the princes of Lorraine: the chancellor de l'Hôpital sealed their edicts under stringent protest; while the agents of the queen of England, ever kept alive the spirit of resistance to their authority. To escape from these perils, two alternatives presented themselves to the Guises. The first was, the convocation of the national synod, so ardently desired by the Protestant population of France: the second, was the assemblage of the *Stâtes-Generals*, the arrest of Condé—who was suspected of being the chief and leader of the malcontents—and the extinction of heresy by the sword, after the fashion in which the Moorish population of Spain had been compelled by Ferdinand and Isabella to accept the Christian Faith. The project of

the national council, was exceedingly distasteful, both to the Pope and to the king of Spain—and the chief object of the mission of Don Antonio, was to protest in the name of Philip against such concessions, alike prejudicial, as the king averred, to religion and to the majesty of the throne. The king of Spain, in an interview with de l'Aubespine, however, warmly expressed satisfaction at the measures in contemplation against the princes of Bourbon; and he earnestly exhorted Francis to maintain his authority, and to suffer no subject to usurp the royal prerogative.

Catherine replied to her daughter's recommendations thus: "as to what you tell me, m'amy, that your husband is about to send to us Don Antonio de Toledo, a personage towards whom he bears great regard, be sure that the king your brother, and myself are glad that he is coming hither: I pray you, *ma fille*, be assured and tell your husband likewise, that nothing can give us greater pleasure than to see, and to speak to a person whom you so trust, as the said prior. We will, therefore, give him such courteous reception, that he shall have reason to be satisfied."¹ The king and the duke de Guise, also wrote to hail the promised journey of Don Antonio. Meantime, as king Philip, through his resident ambassador, had signified his discountenance of the national synod, that wholesome measure was abandoned, "as," said the young king, "it is my intention to follow the advice

¹ Lettre de Catherine de Medici à la royne Catholique—Négociations sous François II., p. 522.

of my good brother in all things:" and in place thereof, the assemblage of the states of the realm, and the impeachment of Condé was decided upon.

The prior, Don Antonio, arrived in Paris about the middle of the month of September, 1560. His instructions were of the most peremptory description, to throw every obstacle in the way of the convocation of a Gallican synod. The precarious condition of affairs in France; and the probability that measures of severity would be followed by a general rebellion, created so much anxiety in Philip's mind, that, despite the jealousies of the court, he sent to demand the opinion of the duke of Alba on the position of parties; and concerning the advice it would be most expedient to offer to Francis. The duke's sentiments coincided perfectly with those of his royal master—to make no concessions, and to put down rebellion by proscription and the sword, however lofty might be the rank of the accused. So cogent were the representations of the prior, and positive the assurance he gave, that Francis might rely on the aid of his royal brother of Spain to subdue any armed demonstration which the princes might oppose, that the intolerant policy enjoined by the cabinet of Toledo was adopted.

Don Antonio having accomplished the political mission intrusted to him, very ungratefully repaid the praise given him by the young queen, by repeating to Catherine de Medici the scandal, current at the Spanish court, respecting Elizabeth's French ladies.

He told the queen, that madame de Clermont had been guilty of great assumptions in respect to the *camaréra-mayor*; and that she prevented the queen from adapting herself to the modes and habits of Spain—conduct, which his Catholic majesty already observed with displeasure. “His majesty,” said the prior, “very naturally desires to possess the entire confidence of his consort; which can never be the case while madame de Clermont perpetually reminds her majesty of those whom she has left in France, and of French customs in opposition to those of Spain.” Don Antonio, moreover, hinted that the queen spent too much of her leisure in the society of her maids of honour, French and Spanish; and paid not sufficient regard to the noble matrons of the court. He also insinuated, that Elizabeth’s bed-chamber woman, madame de Vineux, was treated by her majesty with more show of consideration than Elizabeth manifested towards mademoiselle de Montpensier and madame de Clermont.

While Catherine was revolving what use to make of the information so officiously tendered by the prior, intelligence reached the French court of the sudden indisposition of the queen, who it had been hoped was in a condition to make Philip a father. The next courier, however, brought news of the recovery of the queen; and that the physicians had mistaken the nature of her ailment. Madame de Clermont wrote a full detail of the case, which seems to have produced some consternation at

the Spanish court, where Elizabeth's frequent maladies occasioned at first surprise and alarm. She also stated that the gardeners, whom Catherine had sent to make fresh gardens at Aranjuez had not arrived, much to the disappointment of her majesty, who was anxious to begin her gardening projects. The packet of despatches for the Spanish ambassador, Chantonay, however, contained details of a fresh feud in the palace, between mesdames de Clermont and de Vineux, which greatly incensed queen Catherine. The cause of the contention was, that madame de Vineux insisted on succeeding to the post vacated by Elizabeth's nurse Catherine Luzelle, who had returned to France with the rest of the officers dismissed from her household. To this pretension, madame de Clermont offered violent opposition, asserting her rights to perform the offices hitherto monopolized by the nurse, and which gave their possessor the direction of the queen's private apartments, and therefore, the privilege of seeing her majesty whenever she sought retirement. Elizabeth herself covertly favoured the pretensions of madame de Vineux, who was a lively and comely person, and only a few years older than her royal mistress. The intervention of the French ambassador was, at length, sought to settle the dispute. Madame de Clermont stated her claims; while her rival pleaded, "that she had been intrusted with all the queen's secrets, and intended to be faithful to her majesty unto death—and that the Spaniards would hold her in little

esteem, if, when they witnessed her assiduous attendance at her majesty's toilette, they perceived that she was deprived of the queen's society, and another placed over her." The ambassador who evidently thought that the pertinacity displayed by madame de Vineux, arose from her desire to appropriate a position, which would give her frequent opportunity of access to the presence of the king, made some temporizing reply, and exhorted the belligerents to forget their quarrel, and to live in peace if they did not both wish to be banished from the kingdom. Madame de Vineux upon this flew into a transport of rage, and after signifying to the ambassador her intention of resigning her post in the household of Elizabeth, unless her claims were admitted, she departed and sought audience of the queen, to beseech her majesty to terminate the feud by an express intimation of her will. Elizabeth replied, "that she would mention the matter to the king her lord, without whose assent she could decide nothing." The affair rested thus, when it came to the ears of Catherine de Medici; not, however, through the despatches of the bishop of Limoges, but from the correspondence of Chantonnay with Erasmo. Catherine at once thought it her duty to interfere in the matter, which she accordingly did with much severity. "M. de Limoges," wrote queen Catherine, to the French ambassador.¹ "I am writing by this

¹ La royne mère à l'Evêque de Limoges—Négociations sous François II., p. 704.

courier to the queen, my daughter, and to mesdames de Clermont et de Vineux, as I have heard that the said de Vineux assumes to interfere in the household of the queen my daughter, which is, I am told, distracted by quarrels, and dissensions between these said ladies. This intelligence has given me marvellous displeasure; and M. de Limoges, I feel anger at you, inasmuch as I have heard it from another source than from your pen. As it is a thing which intimately regards the welfare of the queen my daughter, and of myself, I ought to have gained this knowledge from you, that I might betimes prevent the Spaniards from having so bad an opinion of my judgment, as to believe that I placed in the household of the queen, two women, who show so little discretion, that they cannot even live in peace the one with the other. Therefore, M. de Limoges, I pray you deliver to each one the accompanying letter; declaring to them, moreover, that my will is, that they live together from henceforth in peace and concord; and that they refrain from exhibiting before strangers, such folly and misconduct. Moreover, you will say to the said ladies, that it is my command that they aspire to nothing more than that which I intrusted to them on their departure from this realm—for it is my intention, that the said Dames de Clermont and de Vineux remain in the position about the person of the queen my daughter, in which I placed them; nor will I permit madame de Vineux

to usurp anything to the prejudice or detriment of the said madame de Clermont."

The remonstrance which queen Catharine addressed to her daughter upon the dissensions amongst her ladies, and other matters mentioned by Don Antonio is as follows:—

CATHERINE DE MEDICI, TO ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN.

"Madame ma fille,

"I understand from various personages, who have lately quitted Spain, that your women cannot agree together, and that madame de Vineux aspires to greater control over your household; at which I am greatly displeased, as I have written to the said lady, and also, to madame de Clermont. In these affairs, ma fille, follow the counsel which I gave you on your departure hence. You are aware how very important it is for you to do so; for if your husband knew of this dissension, be well assured that he would never love you more. I believe, that madame de Vineux is faithful to you; nevertheless, as I know that she is greedy of rule, and gain, she might so far forget herself as to disregard that which she owes to her mistress, to please her master, who has greater power to reward services done him than yourself. I have, moreover, heard that not one of your ladies do you consider so much as this de Vineux: and, that you think nothing even of ma cousine mademoiselle de Montpensier, of madame de Clermont, nor even of the mother of the latter, in comparison to her; so much so, ma fille, that all Spaniards of your court laugh at your folly; and even your husband, himself, ridicules such absurd preference. In truth, ma fille, your conduct is very wrong, and very

unworthy of the rank and place which you fill. It is also, the act of a child, to talk exclusively with, and to make so much of your maidens in the presence of your court. When you are in private, and alone in your chamber, amuse yourself as you like with them; but before the court, treat your cousin, and madame de Clermont with cordial favour, and converse with them in public frequently. Put trust in them, moreover, for they are personages of discretion, and have nothing more at heart than your honour, and contentment; but as for those young baggages, your maidens, they can teach you nothing but folly and mischief. Therefore, *ma fille*, follow my advice if you desire to please me, and wish me to love you. I believe that you bear me sincere affection, and are convinced, that as your mother, I can have no other aim or prayer than to see you happy, and leading a prosperous, and contented life.

“Votre bonne mère,
“CATHERINE.”¹

This letter is written throughout in the queen's hand. Catherine, also, addressed missives to the principal Spanish ladies of Elizabeth's court, so greatly was she vexed at the discord, which seemed to mar the political advantages she had hoped to obtain by establishing her daughter in Spain. The versatility of Catherine's mind cannot be better estimated than at this season, when surrounded by political events of vast moment, she thus found leisure to adjust the vexatious intrigues of her daughter's court. Her letter was written during the

¹ Lettre de Catherine de Medici à la royne Catholique—Négociations sous François II., p 706.

sojourn of the court at Orleans; at a season when a prince of the blood had been attainted and condemned to death; when numbers of noble personages were under arrest for heresy; and the queen-mother herself, found her power, and even her personal security endangered by the insolent assumptions of the uncles of Mary Stuart. Catherine's interference, however, was well-timed and necessary; the quarrel between the two ladies she had so thoughtlessly placed about her daughter, created the greatest scandal at the Spanish court, and brought discredit on their countrymen resident in Toledo. Madame de Vineux, in the excess of her indignation, actually went the length of publicly accusing the countess de Clermont of having purloined the sum of 10,000 crowns from Elizabeth's privy purse; and she challenged the latter to gainsay the charge. The coldness and reserve of Philip's manner towards the French, testified how deeply he was offended at these proceedings. As for Elizabeth, she seems to have been quite incompetent to control her unruly household. At one time, indeed, she appears to have covertly abetted madame de Vineux in her pretensions. Her mother's letter, and her indignation at the charge preferred against madame de Clermont, who was a lady of unimpeachable honour and integrity; and, moreover, her dread of Philip's displeasure, which was now unequivocally evidenced, induced Elizabeth, at length, to espouse the defence of madame de Clermont. It is astonishing that Catherine, at this juncture, did not recall these personages; as she was

well aware how hateful their presence was to Philip and his subjects; and the more especially as French interests suffered by these dissensions. The perpetual visits which de l'Aubespine paid to the young queen, who was advised by her mother never to act in any matter, however trivial, without consulting the ambassador, also gave umbrage to a monarch so jealous of his prerogative as Philip. The obsequiousness displayed by the French ambassador, and the flattering compliments which the latter continually delivered from the sovereign of France, did not blind Philip to the fact that Catherine, through the agency of her daughter, was seeking to establish an undue influence over his cabinet and court. The prince of Eboli, however, espoused the part of Elizabeth's aggrieved household; because he thus hoped to recommend himself to the favour of the queen. The king being thus made sensible of his want of a firm and efficient minister to enforce his mandates; to keep order at court, and to repress the assumptions of the French ambassador, suddenly took the resolution of recalling the duke of Alba. Like his imperial father, Philip formed his immoveable resolves in the cabinet, leaving the execution of his mandates to his minister; for seldom did he suffer himself to be involved in angry, or unprofitable discussion. "I deeply regret, madame," wrote madame de Clermont, to queen Catherine de Medici,¹ "that your majesty should

¹ Lettre de madame de Clermont à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 718.

express such indignation at my conduct—but with madame de Vineux's projects it is certainly difficult for her to tolerate my presence here. She wishes to appropriate my office, and to drive me from the service of the queen your daughter. She tries to render me the worst of offices with the queen, who, madame, if it pleases you, will testify to the truth of my words. I never reply to this said madame de Vineux, except to admonish her to be silent, that strangers may not be scandalized at her discourse. I assure you, moreover, madame, that it is not alone in such matters that she quarrels with me; but she has actually accused me of stealing 10,000 crowns which you, madame, presented to the queen your daughter."

The presence in Spain of this bitter-tongued lady, madame de Vineux, was somewhat incomprehensibly deemed advantageous by de l'Aubespine; for instead of proposing her prompt dismissal, the ambassador advises his royal mistress to conciliate her in any manner short of bestowing upon her the post she coveted; as that would entail the still more grievous alternative of depriving Elizabeth of the services of madame de Clermont. The ambassador informed Catherine that he believed the whole dispute had been aggravated, so that it might form a pretext for dismissing the French from the queen's household; for that their presence continued to be excessively displeasing to the *camaréra-mayor*, and to her majesty's major-domo. He also imparted

to queen Catherine that Don Antonio de Toledo, had since owned to him, that the representations which he had made while at Amboise, were spoken at the express desire of the condessa de Urueña. "Moreover, madame, the conde de Alba de Liste, the majordomo is tyrannical in his words, and so outrageous in his designs, that he would desire to govern, and even to command his royal mistress. He wishes, therefore, for the absence of madame de Clermont, and even of many other personages of the Spanish household, in order to have no rival and to rule supreme. The duke of Alba, who is the brother-in-law of the said count, and all the members of the house of Toledo countenance this intrigue; they, like all the other races of this country, being addicted to partialities, dissimulations, and calumnies. Moreover, it is reported that the duchess of Alba is to arrive about Christmas next at this court, where she is to remain by the desire of her husband, who will, of course, after his return wish that she should be of the queen's household, and favoured by her majesty." ¹

During these *tracasseries*, Elizabeth did her best to enliven the court, and to gain the favour of the king. At this period, however, Philip never imparted state affairs to his wife's ear; and when, in obedience to the injunctions of her mother, she ventured to interfere in politics, the grave and guarded replies of the king, renewed the awe which

¹ Dépêche de l'Evêque de Limoges à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 710.

her husband had first inspired. So long as Elizabeth appeared content to be the pupil, and the ready agent of the French ambassador, she was never initiated into the most trivial affair of state; though Philip won by her sweetness of disposition, treated her with affectionate regard. One of Elizabeth's amusements during this long sojourn of the court at Toledo, was to visit by turns the nunneries of the capital; partaking of refecton with the nuns, who charmed with her affability, gave her cordial welcome; and frequently prepared small offerings of delicate needle-work for her acceptance. The queen, also, gave a *bal costumé* at this season after the fashion of France; much to the delight and surprise of those favoured courtiers invited to join the festivity; for Philip in sanctioning so unwonted an innovation on Spanish etiquette, stipulated that the number of guests should be limited, exclusive of the members of the royal household. Don Carlos and the princess Juana were amongst Elizabeth's guests, and both greatly enjoyed the scene. Elizabeth opened the ball, dancing with king Philip. Her majesty, on this occasion, was arrayed in a robe of cloth of silver, puffed and slashed in Spanish fashion. The edge of the robe was bordered with a band of gold. On her head, the queen wore a tiara of jewels. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the ladies of the queen's suite, appeared in robes of crimson velvet, white damask, or cloth of silver, according to the taste and convenience of the wearer. The entertainment lasted

three hours, during which their majesties were present, and seemed heartily to enjoy themselves. The queen especially was in high spirits, and, with the permission of her consort, danced several times. "I assure you, madame," wrote madame de Clermont to Catherine de Medici, "that the queen, your daughter, is now well, and growing so fat that we have been compelled to alter her surcoats and robes; for she requires them at least two nails wider than when she first arrived in Spain. This gives us all great pleasure; for here they think nothing of slender women. Her majesty has also grown in height, so that now she is taller than myself."¹

These pastimes afforded some alleviation to the queen, from the perpetual annoyances to which she was exposed in hearing, and allaying the contentious bickerings of her ladies. The evil, at length, became so intolerable, that de l'Aubespine, probably in order to prevent the ignominious expulsion of the belligerents, deemed it politic to mention the subject to the duke of Alba, who had regained great influence over his royal master; as both Philip and his minister studiously avoided the subject; although the king's displeasure was signified by many indirect ways. Accordingly, the ambassador and the duke of Alba, meeting one day in the palace, the bishop commenced by observing that, "the duke would oblige him greatly by informing him whether, in truth, he

¹ Lettre de madame de Clermont, à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 718.

had commanded Don Antonio de Toledo, to use the language which he had done at the French court, relative to the queen his mistress, and her attendants." The ambassador added, "that queen Catherine placed implicit reliance on the duke's candour, as did he himself." The duke of Alba drily observed, without manifesting surprise at this sudden question, "that effectively it was by his very special direction that Don Antonio held the discourse mentioned by the bishop, as he had nothing more at heart than that the Catholic queen should conform to the usages of the country over which she reigned." De l'Aubespine then requested that the duke would explain his meaning more fully ; adding, "the queen, my mistress, has informed me of the discourse of Don Antonio ; the latter, however, has since confessed to me that he spoke at the suggestion of the condesa." A message at this instant summoned Alba to the privy council chamber, and he took leave of the ambassador, promising to renew the conversation at an early opportunity. The bishop waited two days without seeing the duke ; on the third, he sent to demand an audience. Alba excused himself ; evidently not caring to confer any longer upon a matter which had been already privately decided by his royal master. The ambassador then sought an interview with Ruy Gomez, to whom he explained how matters stood, and requested his advice. The prince, who was much discomfited by the return of Alba, avowed to the bishop, that the duke and his kindred

had been making great efforts to persuade the king to dismiss Elizabeth's attendants, and principally madame de Clermont, whom the *camaréra* accused of alienating the queen from her adopted country; and of giving her majesty bad advice on various subjects, especially, in not conforming herself sufficiently to the humour of the king. The prince of Eboli then tendered, as his advice, that de l'Aubespine, after first apprizing her majesty how affairs stood, should demand an audience of the king, and frankly discuss the matter; he was further of opinion that the bishop should next deliver to the queen a letter from queen Catherine, which he happened to have in his possession, after perusing which, Elizabeth might be advised to make a personal appeal to her husband on behalf of her ladies, assuring his majesty how malignant was the statement respecting madame de Clermont.

The following day, therefore, de l'Aubespine was introduced into the royal closet by the prince of Eboli. He at once proceeded to inform Philip, "that the singular affection borne towards him by queen Catherine, induced her majesty to watch over the deportment of the queen his wife, and that of her ladies, in order that she might convince herself that he was receiving from all, honour, obedience and service." "I further represented, madame," writes the bishop, "that your letters to all were filled with admonitions to that effect; and, moreover, that you made diligent enquiry of all Spaniards visiting your court, to learn whether his

majesty had reason to be content ; and that by this means you, madame, had ascertained through some of his majesty's ministers, the accusation preferred against madame de Clermont, that she did not sufficiently counsel the queen to conform to Spanish usages, and to the desires of his majesty." The ambassador then continued, during the best part of an hour, to harangue Philip on the virtues and good qualities of Madame de Clermont ; adducing, from the love and reverence demonstrated towards him by his consort, that he ought to be content with her services. Philip listened with unflinching attention and gravity to this officious harangue ; probably feeling not a little amused at the office of Mentor assumed by his royal mother-in-law, who from her palace of Fontainebleau aspired to govern the deportment of the queen of Spain. He then replied, "that he had reason to think highly of madame de Clermont ; and that he thanked her Christian majesty for the care which she took to insure his comfort and approbation, and also, that of her whom he loved. Moreover, that he had never felt displeasure of any kind towards the queen, his consort ; but bore her great honour, as was meet, considering the lineage from which she sprang." With this answer de l'Aubespine was compelled to withdraw.

He next visited Elizabeth, and delivered a letter written by the queen, her mother. Elizabeth was moved to tears by its perusal ; and readily promised to speak to the king on the subject. The

following morning, therefore, after she had completed her toilette, Elizabeth despatched a page with a message to her husband, requesting to speak with him, "and that if his majesty pleased, she would repair to his apartments." Philip replied, "that he would immediately speak with her majesty, whom he prayed to meet him in the small cabinet, which communicated with her own apartments. The queen, therefore, proceeded thither followed by the *camaréra*, and by madame de Clermont, it having been concerted that both these personages should witness the interview. The king presently entered, attended by Ruy Gomez. Elizabeth then took her husband aside, and spoke very earnestly on the subject for some minutes. She assured Philip that madame de Clermont had been maligned; and ended by supplicating the king, to permit her to retain the services of the former, and of her other ladies. Madame de Clermont, after the queen had finished speaking, approached, and vindicated herself from the alleged misdemeanour, in a long address, which the king must have deemed wearisome, and even presuming. Philip's impassibility of manner, and self-possession, however, seldom deserted him; and he never embarrassed his ministers by making hasty promises to free himself from personal solicitation. First, he kissed, very gallantly, the hand of his consort, and told her how greatly he appreciated her affection. He then addressed madame de Clermont, and said: "Señora, we never before heard the accusation which

the ambassador avers is made against you. If such things have been said, it is without our knowledge. We bear you infinite esteem, and feel content that the queen, our consort, has been so worthily served." At Elizabeth's request, the king signified his command that the *camaréra* should forget her complaint against madame de Clermont. The condesa de Urueña, therefore, came forward haughtily enough; and these two ladies exchanged some words of mutual reconciliation. The royal pair then quitted the cabinet together, and remained some time in private conference. "So madame," triumphantly observes de l'Aubespine, "these slanderers will have their eyes closed; and not one of the household, from henceforth, will presume to do other than honour and revere madame de Clermont, in whose behalf her royal mistress vouchsafed so notable an interference."¹

Philip, however, had avoided the trap so skilfully laid by the French court—he had replied generally to the representations of his young wife, and pledged himself to nothing. A few days afterwards, the bishop of Limoges had an audience, to impart to his majesty the arrival of the princes of Bourbon at Orleans, and the subsequent arrest and condemnation of Condé, when on taking leave, the king courteously requested the ambassador to visit the apartments of the duke of Alba, who had something to say to him

¹ Dépêche de l'Evêque de Limoges à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 713.

by command. The ambassador complied, and met with very cordial greeting from the duke. Alba commenced the parley, by observing, "that he should personally esteem himself unfortunate if the queen, his mistress, and her Christian majesty queen Catherine, believed that what he had commanded Don Antonio to impart privately to the latter, proceeded from himself individually, and had its source alone in the vexatious disputes of two women, an ordinary occurrence in the courts of princes. He had, it was true, directed Don Antonio to mention the matter as spoken upon his authority alone, as a sincere well-wisher for the welfare and concord of their Catholic majesties, upon which depended the weal of Christendom, he feeling assured that queen Catherine would acquit him of arrogating more to himself than became a good and faithful minister." The duke then proceeded to state in distinct terms that madame de Clermont and the other French ladies must be recalled ; and until that desire was complied with, the Catholic king would feel displeasure, as his majesty had hitherto shown so much forbearance, only on the supposition that madame de Clermont was to remain for a stated period only, and then retire, as had been promised to the ambassador Chantonnay, before the queen's departure from France. The ambassador adroitly replied, that the duke had only himself to blame, for not having been more explicit in signifying the desires of his Catholic majesty, and that openly. That the queen, his mistress, wished

only for king Philip's contentment ; but that hearing only of these matters by rumour, and not officially, she had naturally concluded that the cabals against the French ladies would soon be forgotten ; the more especially when Don Antonio had since confessed that he reported the matter merely by the desire of the *condesa camaréra-mayor*, whose jealous umbrage had been, on many occasions, sufficiently manifest. The duke responded : “ Monseigneur, my royal master believes, as I do myself, that a more excellent lady does not exist than madame de Clermont ; and truly, I should feel cause for thankfulness did my own wife, or my daughters imitate her virtues. As for her majesty, the queen, no prince can feel greater contentment, than does his majesty at her deportment. We must pray you, monseigneur, to bear in mind two things—First : the indignation and jealousy displayed by the lords, and *hidalgos* of the court, and their wives, at beholding the queen, *nuestra Señora*, so governed, and controlled by a foreigner, such as madame de Clermont. His majesty, it is true, believes that the complaints perpetually made to him are groundless ; but something must be conceded to good and loyal subjects ; otherwise, the nobles will resent in other and more serious matters, the violence done to their prejudices. The second reason, monseigneur, is that as the king our master greatly loves his consort, he—feeling also great attachment to this country, and purposing to pass here all the days which God may grant him—is naturally

desirous that the queen his wife, should adapt herself in every respect to Spanish customs, habits, and ideas. Therefore, her majesty thus favouring and trusting madame de Clermont, will be continually reminded of the country she has quitted, which would defeat his majesty's gracious intentions and wishes—which feelings, monseigneur, on the part of his Catholic majesty are both excusable and natural; as no one can blame a husband for wishing entirely to sway the affections and the inclinations of his wife. His majesty, therefore, desires to render his consort entirely Spanish, and devoted to him in all respects." The ambassador replied by promising to inform queen Catherine of the wishes of his Catholic majesty: but, meantime, he requested that madame de Clermont and her companions might be treated with consideration and honour. This the duke promised. He then proposed, if de l'Aubespine thought it expedient, himself to break the matter to Elizabeth. The ambassador declined to avail himself of the duke's aid, saying, "that he thought it more expedient not to mention the subject either to the queen, or to her ladies; but to leave queen Catherine to execute the wishes of his Catholic majesty, at the earliest possible opportunity." This, Alba, at length, acceded to, with some hesitation: as he doubted whether Catherine would speedily, and in good earnest

¹ Dépêche de l'évêque de Limoges, ambassadeur en Espagne, à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p 721.

set herself to recall the persons she had placed about her daughter.

The bishop immediately despatched a courier to Orleans to convey a summary of this audience to the queen. He recommended her majesty to comply with the demand for the recall of madame de Clermont, whose rank entitled her to appear at court ceremonials; but to insist that madame de Vineux, and two tire-women of the name of Catherine and Girónville, should remain about the queen, as these three last named persons could claim no precedence, and, therefore, would not offend the Spanish ladies by their public presence in the train of Elizabeth.

The question, however, of the recall of these contumacious ladies resolved itself into its real insignificance, and the negotiation was suspended and forgotten in the grave political events which supervened on the sudden decease at Orleans of Francis II, December 5th, 1560. The regency of the kingdom of France, and the guardianship of the young king, Charles IX, then in his eighth year was ceded, by the king of Navarre, to Catherine de Medici—Antoine de Bourbon receiving in recompense from the queen his elevation to the post of Lieutenant-general of the realm. Catherine, moreover, plighted her royal word that she would use every art of diplomacy and persuasion to induce the king of Spain to restore the kingdom of Navarre—a promise which she subsequently well performed. The first act of the queen-regent was to

reverse the policy of the late brief reign—to liberate Condé and the persons condemned to death for heresy; and to recall the veteran constable de Montmorency, and the ministers, courtiers, and servants of her late husband, Henry II. She, moreover dismissed the princes of Lorraine from any share in the government; and published an edict granting toleration to the Calvinists, with permission to worship in public under certain restrictions. These changes were deemed pernicious and intolerable by the cabinet of Philip II. That subtle diplomacy, therefore, that demanded nothing better than cordial league with a monarch who, like Francis II, was ready to suppress heresy with fire and sword, arrayed its toils to overthrow the recreant government which presumed to parley with the opponents of the Romish creed. Chantonnay and his astute secretary of legation, Don Francisco de Alava, were instructed to spare no intrigue to bring back the Guises to the helm of government; and to lavish promises, threats and honours to accomplish the restoration of the vacillating Antoine de Bourbon to the faith of Rome. This event Philip knew would create fatal divisions in the Protestant counsels; and so totally circumvent and deprive queen Catherine of the support which she expected to derive from her union with the princes of the blood, as to throw her defenceless again into the power of the Catholics of the realm. With that keen insight into motive and character which distinguished king Philip, he rightly appreciated

the political capacity of his mother-in-law. He observed and estimated the rare ability which peculiarly belonged to Catherine of turning to account events present and perceptible; he admired her fearless deportment in periods of danger; the subtilty of her wit, and the ingenuity of her intellect—but the king had likewise discovered that the faculty of combination, and the wisdom requisite to create a fresh political code out of the fragments of the past, were not amongst the many endowments which rendered Catherine formidable. The queen's indiscriminate attempts to conciliate all, was an error for a sovereign placed in the difficult position in which Catherine found herself. She greeted men whose politics were her abhorrence, with the same outward sympathy that she vouchsafed to those actuated by principles coincident with her own. Both parties met on equal terms at her court. Dissensions, therefore, inevitably resulted, which the queen sought to quell by underhand overtures to each faction. Thus, when Catherine assumed the reins of government at Orleans, in league with the king of Navarre and Montmorency, the Guises were not firmly and courageously deprived of power, and exiled from the scene of their late inordinate ambition; but, on the contrary, the queen suffered them to retire at their pleasure, with the understanding that the court would be open to them and to their partisans whenever they desired to return thither. The result of this impolitic proceeding consummated the first phase of the impending disasters

of the realm ; moreover, it involved Catherine in that maze of dissimulation which speedily closed round her. Unable to free herself from the overwhelming difficulties of her subsequent position, Catherine was driven to defend her son's crown by the wiles of deceit ; and when these failed her, by bloodshed.

The perilous condition of affairs seems to have greatly depressed Catherine's spirits on her assumption of power. She saw herself alone in a court torn by factions, political and religious ; broken by family feuds, and deadly enmities. The king and his two brothers were in their infancy ; her son-in-law, the king of Spain, was the ancient enemy of France ; and already Catherine detected the venom of Spanish diplomacy in the debates of her cabinet. She found herself without a minister in whom she could unreservedly confide. The princes of Lorraine had sufficiently demonstrated their hatred personally and politically during the late reign ; the king of Navarre, a Calvinist according to his outward showing, was weak, ambitious, and therefore treacherous. Montmorency was too nearly allied to the Protestant faction through his nephews of Chatillon, to render it possible to intrust supreme authority in his hands. The marshal de St. André was licentious in his habits ; a buffoon in his convivial hours ; bluff and arbitrary. In this perplexity, the queen took a middle path ; she disgraced no individual—she elevated no one ; yet all remained dissatisfied, and none became her adherents. A few days after the death of her son, Catherine

addressed the following touching letter to her daughter Elizabeth.

QUEEN CATHERINE TO THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.

“ Madame ma fille,

“ As I have given the messenger instructions to say many things to you, I write only to pray you, ma fille, not to feel sadness on my behalf ; for I will try to demean myself, so that God and the world may approve of my actions ; for my chief care shall be the honour of God, and the conservation of my authority ; not, however, for my own benefit, but for the preservation of this realm, and the good of your brothers, whom I love for the sake of him who was your common father. Ma fille, m’ amye, commend your happiness to the keeping of the Almighty ; for you have seen me as happy and prosperous as you are now yourself, when my only sorrow was the fear of not being sufficiently beloved by the king your father, who gave me more honour than I merited, but whom I so loved, that in his presence I always felt awe. God has bereaved me of my husband ; and now I weep for your brother. He has committed to my charge three little children, a kingdom distracted by divisions, within which, there is not one individual in whom I can trust ; or one who is not swayed by private partiality. Therefore, m’ amye, take warning by my fate : confide not exclusively in the love which you bear towards your husband, and which he renders back to you, nor in the pomps and luxuries of your present power ; but lift up your heart to Him who alone can continue these blessings to you ; and who, when it is His sovereign will, can bring you to my present condition—the which, I would rather die than see you suffer, from dread lest your constancy might fail

under the bitter trials which I have endured, solely through His sustaining aid and protection.

“Vostre bonne mère,

“CATHERINE.”¹

The princes of Guise, meantime, to the great chagrin of Philip's ambassador, quitted the court; the duke retiring to Joinville, and the cardinal de Lorraine to his episcopal see of Metz. But though deposed from power, the Guises again held at their disposal the hand of their niece Mary Stuart, and her Scottish crown; and these they resolved to oppose between themselves, and the resentment of queen Catherine. Scarcely, therefore, was Francis II consigned to his unhonoured grave in the vaults of St. Denis, than the cardinal de Lorraine commenced overtures to the Spanish court to negotiate an alliance between Mary and Don Carlos, thus securing, as he hoped, the *bienveillance* of Philip II; and at the same time thwarting the well-known desire of Catherine to procure that marriage for her daughter Marguerite. The day following the decease of Francis, Mary had delivered the crown jewels in her possession to the king, in the presence of his mother, who in return gave her a written discharge: then, with a heart breaking with grief, the young queen departed, escorted by her kindred of Guise, to hold her mourning state at Fontainebleau. To express the hopeless nature of her loss, Mary assumed

¹ Lettre de la royne mère, à la royne Catholique—Négociations sous François II., p. 781.

for her device a licorice plant, with the motto: "*Dulce meum terra tegit*," in allusion to the king her late husband, with whose brief career the light and glory of her life had vanished. Little sympathy attended the young queen in her mourning chamber at Fontainebleau: the violence of her uncles, and her own support of their policy had alienated all hearts. Even to the august mother of her husband, had Mary, in the intoxication of her power, presumed to apply the taunting appellation of "*une marchande Florentine*;" and though she treated Catherine with outward respect, yet the queen well knew that Mary acted on all occasions as a spy on her conduct, and had reported every trivial incident to her uncles of Guise.

The Spanish court, meantime, removed from Toledo to a place called Mazarambros: for the close atmosphere of Toledo began to exercise an injurious effect upon the health of Elizabeth. It was here that de l'Aubespine waited upon her majesty to impart the intelligence of the decease of Francis II, to whom Elizabeth was affectionately attached. Ruy Gomez was in attendance upon the queen—for Philip immersed in political enterprises, had remained at Toledo. Elizabeth shed many tears when she heard of the event, and had perused her mother's letter. She retired precipitately, and sought the solitude of her chamber. There her first act was to write to

² Histoire de la Maison de Lorraine par Lacour, MS. Lettres du Nonce, Prosper de Sainte Croix, Actes Synodaux de France.

her husband—and implore him to protect her brother the young king Charles; and to comfort the queen-regent under the responsibilities which had fallen upon her. She then commanded her household to assume mourning habiliments. The unexpected alliance which Catherine had contracted with the Protestant princes, however, greatly afflicted Elizabeth. She was devoted to her faith; and she knew the influence which his creed exercised over her husband's political conduct, and friendship. Elizabeth expressed her fears on this subject to the ambassador, who, likewise, deplored the removal of the princes of Lorraine from power. "The queen, your daughter, madame," wrote de l'Aubespine,¹ in his detail of this audience, "expressed to me her infinite regret that in your time, madame, such changes in the government should have occurred, from her fear that besides depriving you of much power, it will endanger the persons of the king monseigneur, and of his majesty's brothers." Philip's letter confirmed Elizabeth's forebodings of the displeasure with which he was likely to receive the intelligence that the policy of Francis II had been subverted. He despatched the prince of Eboli back to Mazarambros with a reply to his consort's letter, begging her to return to him, that he might comfort her in her affliction; but the prince was directed to inform the French ambassador that king Philip entreated her Christian majesty not

¹ Dépêche de l'évêque de Limoges, ambassadeur en Espagne, à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 782.

to be so easily persuaded ; “ for, that those ministers who still aid your majesty, besides the respect which they owe to your person, are too well advised of the many friends, and servants devoted to your interest, to presume to take any injurious step against your authority.” The bishop, throughout a long despatch dilates on the evil impression produced in Spain by the changes which Catherine had made : he says that there was not a town, village, or hamlet, which did not deprecate the administration of the king of Navarre ; who was despised for his pusillanimity, and for his faith. He next advertises Catherine, that already had the Guises commenced their intrigues to marry their niece in Spain ; for that there arrived almost simultaneously with the cabinet messenger, who brought the news of the decease of Francis II, an ecclesiastic sent by the cardinal de Lorraine, with instructions to test the disposition of the king of Spain on the subject. He further relates that this ecclesiastic had procured an interview with the confessor of Don Carlos ; and had made some way in winning Ruy Gomez to the design. Mary Stuart, throughout this curious correspondence is mentioned under the *soubriquet* of “ *le gentilhomme*.” The despatch concludes by informing Catherine that the bishop had delivered the two rings which she had sent as presents for the princess of Eboli, and for the condesa de Urueña, and that both had been deemed very superb, and were accepted with gratification. This letter is throughout written in the

cypher, adopted when important matters were under discussion by the bishop of Limoges. Before Elizabeth rejoined her husband, another courier arrived from France, bringing a despatch for de l'Aubespine, the first addressed to him by the regent, after her assumption of authority, and a second letter from Catherine to her daughter. To the latter, Catherine looked for support at this crisis: the king, it was notorious, was attached to his consort, and because at her prayer, Philip had relaxed much of the vexatious etiquette of the court of Toledo, the queen concluded that Elizabeth's influence in politics was likewise omnipotent. Catherine, however, had in a manner tied her daughter's hands, by the sanction which she gave to the perpetual interferences of the French ambassador, and his constant visits to the young queen. Aware how unmitigated was the enmity felt by Philip towards Antoine de Bourbon, the claimant of one of his crowns, Catherine wrote the following letter.

CATHERINE DE MEDICI, TO ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN.

“Madame ma fille,

“I was so troubled the last time I wrote to you, by the recent loss of your brother, and by my fear, lest the sorrow you would feel might injure your health, that I could not clearly express that which I desire you to do for your brother, who is now king, and for this realm. For this cause I expressly send this courier to pray you, ma fille, m'amy, inasmuch as you love us, to spare no effort to persuade the king your husband, to continue the goodwill which he bestowed on the deceased kings, your

father and your brother; assuring him, that as long as I live, I will offer him friendship and alliance, and that I will bring up my son in the same sentiments. Moreover, as it is I who now wield the government and authority over this realm, he ought to be more than ever assured that there can be no mutation of will on this point. I am compelled, *ma fille*, to admit the king of Navarre into my council according to the laws of this realm, which exact that when the king is a minor, the princes of his blood shall aid the mother of the said king to govern; yet, as surely as he must hold the place he does, so surely does he display the most profound obedience, and commands only as I permit. He, therefore, may now be trusted as myself. Also I have recalled about my person *M. le Connétable*, and all the old servants of the kings, your father and grandfather; so that these measures lead me to hope, that all things may proceed peacefully for the honour of God, the tranquillity of this realm, the content of him,¹ whom I honour as the king my own son, and the approbation of all Christian princes. *Ma fille*, you perceive and sympathize with the affliction with which God has tried me; for it surpasses all that has ever befallen any person. Nevertheless, despite my misfortunes, God gives me the content of seeing your brother revered and obeyed, my authority respected, and the kingdom in peace—all which things comfort me greatly. My chief hope, however, rests in yourself to aid me in inducing your husband to maintain the peace concluded between your father and himself. I feel assured, *ma fille*, that you will take the requisite measures to effect this thing; for on the continuation of the friendship between the king your brother, and the king your husband, depends our felicity and prosperity. I have

¹ The king of Spain.

thought it expedient to admonish you of these circumstances, that, as occasion offers, you may follow the counsels of the ambassador de l'Aubespine. Send me speedy news of yourself; for I fear that you have not been so composed under this heavy affliction, as I should desire for your health's sake, which I pray God, He may preserve, as desires

“Votre bonne mère,

“CATHERINE.”

Catherine writes to the ambassador much in the same terms: she adds only an urgent injunction to the bishop, “to exhaust every resource” to discover *les menées du gentilhomme*,¹ and to defeat them.

Agitation and distress of mind, meanwhile, had increased Elizabeth's indisposition, and rendered her anxious to return to Toledo. Latterly her physicians had recommended her not to sleep in a recumbent posture on account of a temporary ailment with which she was afflicted. The day following the queen's interview with de l'Aubespine, her indisposition slightly increased, and she suffered from violent head-ache and fever. During the course of the next day she felt better and was able to rise. The feverish symptoms, however, returned during the subsequent night, and so ill was her majesty then considered, that a despatch was sent to Toledo to summon the king. During the course of that day Philip spent many hours by the couch of the queen; as Elizabeth displayed great restlessness whenever he quitted the apartment. At dawn the physicians

¹ Mary Stuart.

pronounced, to the dismay of the court, that the queen's illness was an attack of virulent small-pox. For more than a fortnight from this period, Elizabeth's life was despaired of; she lay insensible, wrapped in stupor, or raving in delirium. Madame de Clermont lavished upon her royal mistress the most assiduous care; and remained by her bed careless of personal danger, or fatigue. It is also recorded that Philip never omitted a single day during the crisis of the disorder to spend several hours by the bedside of his consort; and that he demonstrated an extraordinary affliction at the sight of her sufferings. About the 10th day of January, a favourable change occurred in Elizabeth's disorder; and a few days afterwards the physicians declared her majesty to be free from immediate danger, and in a fair way for recovery. The malady, however, had made cruel ravage with Elizabeth's features; and great fears were entertained that her beauty would be impaired.* Her hair fell off, and her eyesight was for a time affected. By the advice of her physicians, the queen's face was bathed with asses' milk, and a medicinal balm diligently applied, which Catherine de Medici sent to her daughter by special courier, as soon as the tidings of her illness reached France. Philip hastened to announce under his own hand, the happy news that his consort's life was safe to Don Juan Manrique, that he might communicate the tidings to Catherine, and present to her a letter which the king sent by the same messenger. "By the account sent you by

the duque de Alba, dated the 8th day of the present month, you have been informed how the malady of the queen my consort, terminated ; since which, owing to the great care and diligence displayed by her physicians, and by her own courage and lofty heart, it has pleased God to grant her such relief, that for these several days past she has been free from fever, and the eruption is diminishing, so that the physicians assure me that soon she will be quite well—this appears to me very probable, as I am this day just returned from Mazarambros, where I left her majesty in very good condition, lively and hopeful, so that I have derived from my visit all the delight in the world. Knowing how great pleasure it will confer on the Christian queen, our mother, to hear this good news, I have commanded that this courier might be despatched to you, so that you may impart these tidings, and rejoice with her majesty in my name and stead.”¹ Philip’s letter to the queen is as follows :—

PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN, TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

“ Señora,

“ From Don Juan Manrique, your majesty will have learned the severe indisposition of the queen, and the condition in which she remained when that report left. Since then she has continued to improve in health ; and last night, when I took leave of her, she had little fever, and the eruption had withered. The queen’s spirits were so hopeful, that I trust in God that soon she will be

¹ Carta de Felipe II., à Don Juan Manrique—MS. Archives de Simancas, K. 1391, A.B. No. 5 (135).—Inedited.

relieved; for which hope I have rendered hearty thanks. I have, moreover, desired to give your majesty early knowledge of this happy news, knowing how much anxiety you have suffered, (and with good cause), as to the result of the malady of the queen.

Don Juan Manrique will impart all that which your majesty may further desire to hear; as he will send me news of your royal person, which may God preserve.

“From Toledo, this 22nd day of January, 1561.

“El buen hijo, y hermano de vuestra majesdad,

“YO EL REY.”¹

All manner of lotions were applied to remove the vestiges of the disease from Elizabeth's fair features. The most efficacious remedy, according to madame de Clermont, was an application of whites of eggs. Elizabeth's strength was so reduced, that long after the crisis was over, she could not rise from her bed. “Madame, we take such care of the queen, your daughter, that you have no need for anxiety:” wrote madame de Clermont to queen Catherine;² “we never lose sight of her majesty, so much so that the king her husband thanks us every time he visits her chamber for our care, saying, ‘that from none of his own subjects would she have received such’—a statement, I can well believe. The king takes the greatest care of her majesty; he sends to inquire almost every hour how she fares, and in spite of the remonstrances which were addressed to him, he persisted in seeing her

¹ MS. Archives de Simancas, K. 1391—A.B. 13, No. 6.—Ined.

² Lettre de madame de Clermont à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 800. *

every day. There lives in this place (Mazarambros) a holy woman, who lately told his majesty that he was happy in having this French wife, and that he must take heed to love her well, and to contradict her in nothing, otherwise God will inflict upon him a grave chastisement, as by his wife, much prosperity is to happen to him. His majesty asked the said holy woman, from whom that admonition came—she replied ‘from God himself.’ Her prediction, madame, is believed, because she has always taken her stand thus; and she foretold to the emperor, all that afterwards happened to him—since which she has been deemed a saint. About two months ago, this said woman predicted that the king of France would die soon, and when we asked her reasons for so saying, she replied ‘that we should see that her words were true.’ She furthermore says, that the queen your daughter will give birth to a child a year and a half hence; and that the destiny of this infant will be most felicitous. The woman is esteemed to be about a century old.”

Don Carlos, who, during these months, had never thoroughly recovered from his ague, sent frequently to inquire after the queen’s progress, and displayed the greatest grief when informed of her danger. When intelligence reached him that Elizabeth’s physicians had good hope of her recovery, he despatched his chamberlain, Don Diego de Pimental, to Mazarambros to deliver “his commendations to the queen, and to inform her that his ague was much subdued,

so that, during the last attack, he had not even thought it necessary to go to bed, and that he hoped soon to pay his respects to her majesty.”¹ Couriers, also, daily arrived at Toledo from France, bringing letters from Catherine ; or from other great personages of the French court ; all which communications Philip caused to be forthwith forwarded to his consort, that she might feel, as little as possible, the tedium of a sick chamber. He also commanded that it should be carefully concealed from Elizabeth, that Mademoiselle de Montpensier had recently sickened of small-pox ; and, likewise, the ambassador de l’Aubespine, who had been closeted with Elizabeth on the day previous to her seizure. This caution, however, was not long requisite, for both these personages were well before Elizabeth was able to leave her bed. Elizabeth wrote several short notes to her mother, before she was strong enough to rise, to allay Catherine’s anxiety, and to thank her for the boundless anxiety she had shown throughout her malady. “Madame,” wrote the young queen,² “I have seen the letter which you have written to Madame de Clermont, and wherein you advise me not to go out into the air for twenty days. I will not fail to obey you ; though I think that before the period you mention I might venture, especially as the king my lord is alone at Toledo, and complains of feeling very lonely in my absence ; and wants me to go to him as

¹ Madame de Clermont à la royne mère—Négociations, etc., p. 809.

² La royne Catholique à la royne mère. Ibid, p. 703.

soon as possible. During my malady, the king, indeed, proved himself a loving husband, for he never once left this place (Mazarambros) and despite every remonstrance that could be made to him, he insisted on seeing me daily. Since his return to Toledo, he has been to visit me three times. Madame, I should be ungrateful if I did not confess to you, that I am the happiest woman in the world—and that to you I owe my great happiness : therefore, madame, I cannot have greater pleasure, than to obey your wishes in all things, and to think that I can render you some service, as indeed, I am bound to do. I ought also to inform you, how much I am obliged to madame de Clermont for the care she has taken of me throughout my illness ; which is so infinite, that I cannot express to you its amount : madame de Vineux, likewise, performed her duties well, and has not spared herself. I hear that *ma cousine* (mademoiselle de Montpensier) has taken the small-pox—but she had not as many marks on her body altogether, as I have had on one of my hands. Her fever is much abated, and she has been bled once, and has lost four ounces of blood. The physicians are assiduous in their visits to her, and I assure you, madame, that Mestre has well performed his duty to both of us. As for my present condition, the eruption on my face is gradually dying away, excepting on my nose. My face and hands are constantly rubbed with a yellow ointment, which does me much good, and diminishes the redness of the skin.”

Elizabeth's simple and earnest acknowledgment of the love she bore the king, her husband, and her gratitude for the anxiety he had displayed for her recovery, contradicts the fable of her attachment to Don Carlos, and the secret understanding which it is maintained by some historians, that she entertained with the prince, from her earliest arrival in Spain. Philip, at this period, appears not to have demonstrated the slightest jealousy, or displeasure at the intimacy between the prince and Elizabeth ; although Don Carlos persisted in his sullen defiance of his father's commands ; and refused to study, or to apply himself to any mental exercise likely to fit him for the exalted destiny which then seemed to await him.

In a letter, addressed by madame de Clermont, to queen Catherine, sent by the same courier who conveyed Elizabeth's letters, she informs the queen that her daughter's features scarcely bore a mark of her late malady, excepting that her nose was a little seamed ; which arose from the circumstance that her majesty " had a bad cold during her convalescence, and used her handkerchief too frequently." Madame de Clermont also stated that the physicians had recommended the queen to take the air in the garden, which she was soon to do.

The first day that Elizabeth was able to rise, king Philip, accompanied by Don Carlos, came from Toledo to visit her. The queen wore a loose robe of black velvet, lined with sable, and fastened at the bosom

with gold buttons. Her ladies were also attired in mourning habiliments, including the princess Juana, who seems to have been Elizabeth's constant companion. While Philip was with the queen, a packet from France was brought to her majesty, which contained amongst other things, the portraits of queen Catherine, king Charles, and of the little madame Marguerite, whom Catherine was so anxious to affiancé to the prince of Spain. Philip greatly admired the portrait of the young princess, and he asked Elizabeth, "if her sister's stature promised to be majestic?" The king then praised Catherine's portrait, and gave it to his sister to look at, who also admired it much. After his majesty had retired, the prince was admitted to see the queen. Elizabeth showed the portraits of her mother and her sister to Don Carlos, and asked him which he liked best. The prince coloured, and laughing, replied "that he thought the young one the handsomest." Elizabeth replied. "I promise, your highness that she is very beautiful and graceful." Madame de Clermont added, "that his highness was right in judging as he had done, for madame Marguerite was best suited to him, and would hereafter make him a nice little wife." His highness made no reply, but looked at the picture, and blushed more than before. "As for the other marriage, madame," wrote madame de Clermont,² "they are very silent about it here. It is

¹ The prince replied : "mas hermosa es la pequeña."

² Madame de Clermont à la royne mère—Négociations, etc., p. 803—806.

rumoured that she¹ is going to Joinville. You should, madame, look into it, for that is too near to Flanders. It is also said here, that the match would be a fine one for the prince, as the realm of England belongs to her. If they cannot marry her to the prince, I think they would like to give her to Don Juan, and so make them sovereigns of Scotland and Flanders. They hold the said Don Juan in great esteem, almost as though he had been the legitimate brother of his Catholic majesty ; so that, madame, it appears to me you had better yourself dispose of her hand² in marriage in France. You have the little prince of Navarre, who, after your children holds first rank in your realm." The Spanish cabinet at this season contemplated in reality the proposals made to them by the princes of Lorraine, relative to the alliance of their niece Mary Stuart. It was Philip's purpose, while outwardly propitiating the court of France, to thwart Catherine's coalition with the princes of Bourbon, to sustain the power of the Guises, and to bring them back to the head of affairs. His hatred of Antoine de Bourbon, was surpassed only by his devotion to the papal interests ; and his desire to see the power of the Inquisition dominant in France. Such was the aim of the intriguing policy of Chantonnay at the court of St. Germain, where his double-dealing, and that of the cardinal de Santa Croce, the nuncio, soon dissipated all Catherine's projects of

¹ Queen Mary Stuart.

² Mary Stuart's.

unity, and conciliation, and established unappeaseable animosity between the Catholic and Huguenot parties. Probably Philip would have closed at once with the proposal of the cardinal de Lorraine, to marry Mary Stuart to Don Carlos, had it not been for the froward and hostile disposition of the prince. To render the prince independent by his union with the queen of Scotland, might be the prelude to calamities of grave import : thus, Philip always refused to confer any government, or yet to sanction the assumption of even nominal power by the son, who took delight in proclaiming his contempt for his father's authority. The precarious health, moreover, of Don Carlos, gave ground for the hope which every act of Philip evidences that he entertained, though he carefully repressed its utterance—that the diadem of his empire might finally descend to the offspring of the young wife whom he so fondly regarded. Elizabeth, herself, was not well inclined to receive Mary Stuart as the bride of the prince of Spain : her interest was exercised for her sister Marguerite.

From her sick room, Elizabeth warns her mother to be on her guard respecting the intrigues of the princes of Lorraine, in favour of their niece. "Madame," says she, "prevent if possible my sister-in-law from going to Joinville ; for these three weeks past, it has been known here of this, her intention, which we knew long before your letters apprized us of it ; this fact makes me conjecture that they are in constant communication with this cabinet." At this

period, Don Carlos, infirm in body, and crazed in mind, was the object of the matrimonial speculations of the most illustrious courts of Europe. The emperor Ferdinand importunately demanded the hand of his nephew for his grand-daughter the arch-duchess Anne, daughter of Maximilian, king of Bohemia and Maria, Philip's elder sister. Catherine de Medici claimed the alliance for her daughter Marguerite de Valois; the princes of Guise obsequiously tendered their beautiful niece Mary Stuart, and her Scottish realm for his acceptance; while the purely Spanish faction at the court of Toledo, advised king Philip to demand a dispensation from the Holy See, and marry the prince to his aunt Doña Juana youngest daughter of the emperor Charles V. This last alliance, preposterous at it seemed, was most favoured by Catherine de Medici, in the event of the failure of her own negotiation to procure the hand of the heir apparent of Spain for her daughter. In Paris, meantime, the Guises, and the ministers of the queen-regent held contest as to which party should be most assiduous in making overtures to the Spanish court to secure the hand of the miserable prince, or rather the magnificent heritage which it was supposed to bestow. "The illustrious cardinal de Lorraine," wrote Chantonnay to his royal master,¹ "was lamenting to me a few days ago the misfortune which has befallen his niece,² and how little chance

¹ MS., Simancas, K. 1390, C. B. 12, No. 117.—Ined.

² Mary Stuart.

there was of finding for her majesty another alliance as august, unless," said he, "she were to espouse his highness your prince. I replied, that there could be no difficulty in finding a suitable consort for so beautiful and charming a princess. The queen-mother," continues Chantonmay, "does not countenance such overtures as it is her majesty's desire to marry madame Marguerite to the prince our lord."

"The other day," wrote Don Juan Manrique,¹ "the cardinal de Lorraine, the constable, and the marshal de St. André came to our lodgings by command of the queen-mother; and after some preface, the cardinal took my hand, saying, "that as they three had been deputed by king Henry to negotiate the peace at which the marriage of your majesty with the queen, nuestra Señora was resolved upon, it had seemed expedient to her Christian majesty to send them to me, Don Juan Manrique, in order to declare again more explicitly what her majesty had before mentioned to me, concerning the contracting of a fresh bond between the house of your majesty and that of France, by the marriage of the prince with madame Marguerite, that on my return to your majesty, I might propose it again and act as mediator in the negotiation. They added the reasons why this alliance would be propitious to all parties, as I, de Chantonmay have already written to your majesty in detail. We think that they have made this renewed overture

¹ Don Juan Manrique y M. de Chantonmay al rey Catolico. MS., Simancas K. 1390, C. B. 12, No. 115.—Ined.

from the fear which the illness of the queen our sovereign inspired. We believe, moreover, that this overture has been made expressly to compromise the cardinal de Lorraine; as it is known that the said cardinal has nothing more at heart than to procure the marriage of his Highness with the queen, his niece. I, Don Juan Manrique, replied generally to their address, and undertook to lay the matter before your majesty. Very great, indeed, has been the joy of the Christian queen to receive your majesty's letters of the 22nd instant, containing the news of the convalescence of the queen our sovereign; and we unite in the hope that by this time her majesty may possess the enjoyment of her usual health." Much curiosity was at this time excited at the Spanish court respecting the young Marguerite: her temper, her education, were all canvassed; and special inquiry was made of the French ladies, whether she resembled her sister; and whether Catherine had caused her to be religiously trained, without taint of the Calvinist heresy, with which the once orthodox court of Francis II was now imbued. Don Carlos himself, however, seems to have preferred the alliance of his cousin, the archduchess Anne, who was a princess of his own age. The prince was heard frequently to express his resolution of being forthwith married; and, therefore, that any overtures to affiancage him to a child of eight years of age, were not acceptable. Instead, however, of bestowing a bride upon his son, Philip was taking measures to send Don Carlos to

pursue his studies at the university of Alcalà, as Ruy Gomez his governor, gave a most mortifying account of his little proficiency in learning—a determination which, when made known to the prince, threw him into such transports of rage, as to bring on a return of his ague.

The portraits which Catherine sent to her daughter were a source of much solace to Elizabeth during the absence of her husband. She seemed never weary of contemplating the comely features of her mother, and of discoursing about her with madame de Clermont. She placed the three portraits in her cabinet; “where, madame,” wrote Claude de Nau to the queen-mother, “she seems never to have regarded them enough. She has placed your portrait first, and the rest in order afterwards. At night, madame, when the queen has finished her orisons, she never fails to kiss, and to make obeisance before your portrait; and after, before the picture of the king her brother.” At times, Elizabeth deeply felt the solitude of her court. Excepting on festive occasions, the sovereigns of Spain seldom mingled with their courtiers. In Spain, all was grand, gloomy, and decorous. The ease, the wit, and the sprightly converse carried to such perfection in the brilliant circles of Catherine de Medici, and Mary Stuart would have been deemed at Toledo, undignified and even ribald. The courtiers of Philip II, met in the marble halls of Aranjuez, in solemn pomp, each displaying on his person a mine of wealth in jewelled

decorations—the *cabelleros*, discreetly to discuss politics with Alba or Ruy Gomez, or to converse with their royal master on the virtues of some newly imported relic; the ladies—to cabal, or to dispute for precedence under the banners of the *camaréra*, or the favoured princess of Eboli. Elizabeth's education had been highly cultivated—she was accustomed from her youth upwards to enjoy the society of some of the most learned men in Europe; all of whom believed that they ministered to the glory and renown of their sovereign by displaying the brilliancy of their acquirements, rather than by offering mute and ceremonious homage. During Philip's absence, Elizabeth found delight in the society of her almoner, and former preceptor, the abbé de St. Etienne, whose versatile talents were highly appreciated by her. Many hours the queen profitably spent in the society of this good old man, whom Philip, likewise, favoured and protected from the jealousy of his courtiers. The princess Juana was too well versed in political codes, and genealogical descents, as befitted a daughter of Hapsburg, to become a very entertaining companion for her young sister-in-law. She likewise, bore a warm friendship for the dreaded inquisitor Valdez, and corresponded frequently with him on affairs of religion, and on the government of the tribunal of the Holy Office. The queen, therefore, soon wearied of her solitary sojourn at Mazarambros; had become impatient to join her husband at Toledo before the commencement of the season of Lent,

which the king spent chiefly in retirement, and in journeys to the shrines of the patron saints of his realm. The queen wrote to inform her mother of her first venture from her sick chamber—it was to join the princess Juana, in a refection *al fresco*, in the beautiful gardens attached to her abode—not a very prudent adventure for a convalescent recovering from small-pox.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

“Madame,

“I cannot permit a courier to leave this court, without writing to tell you that I went out yesterday for the first time, and that I find myself in better health than I have experienced since my illness. To-night I shall apply a noted balsam to remove several scars, which still remain on my nose; the rest of my face is quite free from blemish. The skin is still red; but I apply nothing, except that daily I bathe my face with asses’ milk. It is rumoured that we are soon going to Monzon;¹ but I cannot assert the fact positively, as even the king, my lord, is uncertain as to this journey. I must confess, madame, that, but for the kindness which I receive from the company assembled in this spot, and for the happiness which I have of seeing the king every day, I should find this court the dullest in the world. I assure you, however, madame, that I have so kind a husband, that even did I deem this place a hundred-fold more wearisome, I should not complain.

“It is reported here that *ma cousine*² is affianced to the count d’Eu, and that he is expected in Spain. I am

¹ In Arragon, and where the Cortès of that realm always assembled.

² Anne de Bourbon Montpensier—she was affianced to the count d’Eu, son of the duke de Nevers.

anxious to know the truth ; for it is said that the count will be here in a fortnight. As for my said cousin, she is now in good health ; and I hope if the count arrives, he will find her as handsome, as when he took leave of her. The prince¹ suffers again from quartan ague ; and the attacks have not diminished. The princess is quite well. As for myself, madame, I cannot feel ill, when I know that you are in good health. I entreat you to be careful of yourself ; and if you care not to do so for your own comfort, preserve your health for our sakes ; for our honour and well-being, and that of all Christendom rest with you. Madame de Clermont takes greater care of me daily ; I feel assured, madame, that you will not fail to convey to her your approbation of the devotion she shows me. I will conclude, madame, first by requesting you to remember Catherine's² son-in-law, according to your promise ; and then with the prayer, that God may bless you with a long and prosperous life.

“ I remain,

“ Your very humble, and very obedient daughter,

“ ELIZABETH.”³

The queen of Spain quitted Mazarambros about the commencement of February, and proceeded accompanied by la princesa to Toledo. Her majesty travelled in a litter drawn by mules. Philip received his consort in the *patio* of the Alcazar, and attended her to her apartments. The journey, however, had been too fatiguing for Elizabeth's enfeebled frame ; and the following day she suffered so greatly, that

¹ Don Carlos.

² Son of Catherine Lonzelle, Elizabeth's nurse.

³ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 812.

her physicians again apprehended disastrous consequences. By her own desire, the queen confessed, and received the Holy Communion, and afterwards engaged in private discourse with her husband. A decided improvement, however, became visible during the ensuing night in Elizabeth's condition; she gradually recovered her strength; and within a week of her arrival at Toledo, she was able to rise from her bed.¹

Meanwhile, the most mortifying reports prevailed at court respecting the neglect shown to the remains of Francis II, and the absence of all pomp and ceremony at his funeral obsequies. The Spanish nobles, and especially the queen's major-domo, taunted the French ladies on the meanness displayed by their court on this occasion. Madame de Clermont warmly responded; and a vexatious feud ensued. This irritation was greatly increased when Philip commanded all the hangings of black cloth to be taken from the churches and chapels frequented by the court; an order which the French chose to make a fresh matter of complaint, for as the king died on the 5th of December, they alleged that it was premature to suppress all tokens of mourning during the first weeks of February. The king refused to recall his order; and moreover commanded his consort to lay aside her mourning robes. Elizabeth remonstrated; but Philip replied, "that by complying with his request, she would not err, as it was

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 803.

long since the French court had ceased to sorrow ; therefore it could not reasonably be expected that they in Spain should continue to mourn." Madame de Clermont felt exceedingly incensed at the sarcasm of this remark ; and in high indignation she sent for the count de Alba de Liste, and asked what such insinuation meant ; as it was well known that etiquette permitted the sovereign of France to wear mourning during forty days only for his predecessor—which custom had doubtless been complied with by the Christian king. The count carelessly replied, " that he knew more of the affairs of France than madame de Clermont evidently did ; and that if she felt any desire, he would show her the cost and ordering of the obsequies of the late king, which had been solemnized indecently, without ceremony whatever." Madame de Clermont angrily denied that such had been the case ; and a warm altercation ensued between the pair. " Madame, I entreat you advise as to the consequences of these evil assertions, in such a ceremonious court as this is," wrote madame de Clermont to the queen-mother, when she detailed this interview.¹

The court repaired before the commencement of Lent, 1561, to the more salubrious air of Aranjuez, where Elizabeth was to spend the approaching interval of her separation from her husband. The queen found great delight in this sojourn at Aranjuez, where

¹ Madame de Clermont à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II., p. 804.

she was constructing gardens on the plan of those laid out by her mother at Catherine's private *château* of Monceaux. She had procured many rare shrubs, plants, and ~~elm~~ trees from France. Her mother had, moreover, sent two skilled gardeners from Monceaux, to superintend the works at Aranjuez. Philip's hawking establishment was also at Aranjuez: the rearing of falcons being one of the few recreations which the king of Spain permitted himself. The princes of Guise constantly sent Philip presents of choice falcons, kites, and vultures; attentions which the king liberally requited, by despatching to them in return, swift mules from the royal stud at Assegna or chargers from Andalusia.

During the early part of the sojourn of Philip and Elizabeth at Aranjuez, news reached them of the decease of the conde de Alba de Liste, her majesty's major-domo. The cause of the count's death was singular. He had had a tooth drawn, and the gum continued to bleed, despite the styptics applied. Twenty days after the operation was performed, the count expired in the prime of life, much to the regret, it is stated, of the queen, his mistress, "for although the count was rough and passionate, he was a sensible man, and loved her majesty truly, and displayed great ardour that her household should be well regulated."¹ "The death of the conde de Alba, who held in this court one of the highest offices in

¹ Claude de Nau à la royne mère—MS. Bibl. Imp. F. de l'Aubespine.—Ined.

Spain, is very much regretted by his friends, and very little by people in general, especially by Ruy Gomez and his band, on account of the little friendship which the latter feel for the house of Toledo. The prince of Eboli, moreover, informed me," writes de l'Aubespine, "that the said count had grossly deceived him, and abandoned his party to league himself with that of the duke of Alba."¹

To the consternation of the factious dames of the court, Philip appointed the duque de Alba to the post of grand-master of the queen's household, until further arrangements could be made, and the much disputed appointments filled by suitable personages. Philip, it appears, did not take this decided step without Elizabeth's previous assent. The young queen was heartily wearied of the collisions between her ladies; and notwithstanding the gratitude she felt towards madame de Clermont, for the care lavished upon her during her illness, she wished not to oppose her husband again on this long contested point. "The king, my lord, has commanded the duque de Alba, to officiate as my mayor-domo-mayor, until another is appointed; for which I am very content, knowing the affection which the said duke bears towards me and mine," wrote Elizabeth to her mother. "For all this," positively writes Claude de Nau, "the queen, my mistress, has made up her mind to act with authority according to the

¹ L'Evêque de Limoges à la royne mère MS. F. Harley, 228.—Ined. Février 15, 1561.

good counsel of M. l'ambassadeur, whoever may be appointed to that post of mayor-domo." Then follows a dismal complaint of the bad treatment experienced at the Spanish court by these ladies. "Madame, we have to do with a nation, the women of which covet every honour and profit for themselves, and who never so much as acknowledge any service done." Several of Elizabeth's women were laid up with rheumatism and sciatica from the changeful nature of the climate, and the sparseness of the diet.¹ In another letter, madame de Nau expatiates on the discontent felt by the *camaréra* at the appointment of the duke of Alba; as the condesa hoped to rule her majesty and her household after the decease of the conde de Alba de Liste. The countess de Urueña is accused, by madame de Nau, of having several times spoken in a disrespectful manner to the queen, her mistress; but that her majesty replied with such dignity and decision, as to convince the *camaréra* that she intended for the future to be *hors de page*.

The communication, meanwhile, which de l'Aubespine had had with the duke of Alba, before Elizabeth's illness, relative to the dismissal of the French household, came, by some means, to the ears of madame de Clermont. Always impulsive in her actions, madame de Clermont presented herself before the queen, and angrily demanded to be informed of the truth of the report; and whether her majesty had

¹ Claude de Nau à la royne mère—MS. Bibl. Imp. F. de l'Aubespine. —Ined.

been aware of such a deliberation. Elizabeth replied in the negative; and having, with some trouble, appeased madame de Clermont, she wrote a note to request de l'Aubespine to come to the palace, and speak to her on the subject. The bishop complied; and upon being straitly questioned by the queen, he related his interview with Alba, and the advice which he had tendered to Catherine de Medici. Elizabeth, to the surprise of de l'Aubespine, listened calmly to the recital, and stated that she was willing to assent to the proposal of sending away her French suite, on condition that madame de Clermont, and her other attendants were properly provided for in their own country; and the former gratified by the promise of the post of lady of honour to the future queen of France. The bishop then proceeded to advise Elizabeth to place madame de Vineux in the confidential office of first bed-chamber woman, committing to her the care of her jewels: and to proclaim at once that such was her intention, as Don Juan Manrique, on his return from Paris, had been heard to boast that the queen her mother, intended authoritatively to withdraw the ladies. The queen replied, "Monseigneur, I shall know how to act: yesterday, madame de Clermont actually made me almost swear that I was not cognizant of these transactions." The day following this conversation with the bishop, a despatch reached Elizabeth from her mother, worded according to the previous advice of de l'Aubespine, in which Catherine intimated to her daughter, that

as her interview with their Catholic majesties was unavoidably postponed, she wished to recall madame de Clermont, and others, that it might not be said at the Spanish court, that she entertained spies in her daughter's household, it having been her intention to take them back with her on her return home from the frontier. The queen promises abundantly to reward madame de Clermont's faithful services. Catherine sent her daughter a Psalter as a gift, in which the young king had insisted on writing his sister's name, adding a rosary as his present. Elizabeth acted with great good sense and decision at this crisis ; for she was beginning to estimate the importance and responsibilities of her position. The queen, therefore, distinctly intimated to madame de Clermont the necessity of their separation ; and delivered to her, with her own hand, the letter of recall sent by Catherine de Medici. Philip had placed no limits to the munificence with which it might please his consort to recompense service performed : and even madame de Clermont could not conceal her pleasure at the bounty conferred by the gratitude of her youthful mistress. Elizabeth always acknowledged with grace and earnestness, any services rendered to her ; many of her letters exist, written for the sole purpose of commending her servants, and *protégées*, to the favour of her family in France. After much debate, it was arranged that madame de Clermont, and six of Elizabeth's French maids and others, should return

to France in the suite of mademoiselle de Montpensier, who, after her betrothment to the count d'Eu, was to take her departure from Spain. By the queen's directions, madame de Vineux received charge of Elizabeth's jewels, much to the displeasure of the condesa de Urueña, who wished, as *camaréra*, to nominate to that appointment. The duke of Alba entered upon the functions of his office, showing the utmost deference for the wishes of the queen. That Philip appreciated the sacrifices made by Elizabeth, of the friends of her youth, "an affection so honourable to her majesty," as he had himself avowed, is evident, as the king sent her word by Alba, that she was at liberty to fill the vacant offices in her household as she pleased. "The duke of Alba waited upon her majesty yesterday, with this message from the king: the said duke showing every disposition to please her majesty, and to demonstrate his regard," was the report made by one of Catherine's correspondents.¹ Elizabeth with great tact adopted the *programme* previously approved by Philip; and, moreover, with many gracious words, she expressed her desire that the duchess of Alba,² should accept the post of first *dame du palais*, when vacated by madame de Clermont. Elizabeth then addressed the following letter to queen Catherine on the subject, in

¹ Claude de Nau—Négociations sous François II., p. 816.

² Doña Maria Enriquez de Alba de Liste, sister of the deceased major-domo.

which she takes no notice of her mother's observations and subterfuges, but simply states the true reason of her decision in the matter.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

“Madame,

“It is now some time since the king monseigneur, wished me to dismiss the married ladies, placed in my service by your majesty, as it is not the custom in this court to employ foreigners. When I was at Bayonne, the king wrote to me on the subject; but as it was very agreeable to me then to retain the services of la Couture, her husband, and others, I replied by excusing myself under the promise, that the stay of all in this country should be brief. At the present time, however, madame, I perceive that it is the will of the king that they should depart; as he has signified on several occasions. I am, therefore, unwilling to disobey, or to give my husband just cause to be displeased with me, remembering, madame, the strict charge which you gave me, when I departed, to obey him in all matters. I assure you, madame, that by conforming to his will in this matter, I cannot give my husband a more convincing mark of the love which I bear him. I feel great sorrow at losing the countess,¹ and her sister, as they have always served me with loyal devotion. The said countess has shown me indefatigable service during my illnesses; and now, especially, I am under the greatest obligations for her care, which makes me the more eager to acknowledge her merit, lest she should have reason to deem me ungrateful.

“I supplicate you very humbly, madame, to bestow upon

¹ Madame de Clermont.

M. la Couture the post of valet-de-chambre to the king, my brother, as you promised to do when I was at Bayonne; and to take his wife into your service as tire-woman. I feel assured that you will not refuse my request, as I know the affection which you bear me. I beseech your majesty, moreover, to answer me on these points by the next courier; as I would not allow any of them, for worlds, to depart hence without some reward in prospect. You will find yourself well recompensed by what you do towards all; for believe me, madame, that of my own will, I would not have made you so valuable a gift. I pray God, madame, to bestow upon you a long and happy life.

“Your very humble, and very obedient daughter,

“ELIZABETH.”¹

This madame la Couture was a very favoured attendant of Elizabeth; who, a few months subsequently, wrote to recommend her to the patronage of the duchess de Guise, in case the queen-regent had not leisure, or opportunity to bestow upon her suitable recompense.

Before the departure of the king on his penitential excursions, Elizabeth received a letter from the queen of Bohemia, praying her to forward the project of an alliance between the prince and her daughter, the archduchess Anne of Austria.² The queen of Bohemia was Philip's eldest sister, the Infanta Maria; she was a princess of energetic temper, and had been regarded by her father with affection and pride. In

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp. Portef. l'Aubespine.—Ined.

² St. Sulpice, à la royne mère. MS. Bibl. Imp. F. de Harley, 228.—Ined.

1548, the emperor had bestowed her hand in marriage upon Maximilian, son of his brother Ferdinand, at the time when, to soothe the mortification of his nephew at the project which he entertained of procuring Philip's election to the empire, by the exclusion of Maximilian, he had intrusted the latter with the vice-regal sceptre of Spain. From the period that the Infanta gave her hand to her cousin, her efforts were directed to promote the aggrandizement of her husband's family, in opposition to her own immediate kindred in Spain: a conduct which had been deeply resented by Philip, who attributed his mortifying rejection by the German electors; and the refusal of his uncle Ferdinand to resign the emblems of imperial dignity as the successor of Charles V, to the counsels of his sister Maria. The high spirit of the queen of Bohemia, and her pride of birth, led her to tolerate with difficulty the good-natured condescensions of her husband Maximilian; and at one time their domestic comfort was so far impaired, as to compel the emperor to arbitrate between them. Marie showed great anxiety to betroth her eldest daughter to Don Carlos. In her letter to the queen of Spain, she even expresses regret that she cannot herself aspire to the hand of her nephew! Elizabeth showed the letter to Doña Juana, and mentioned her intention of speaking to Philip on the subject. The princess coldly remarked, "that such an alliance would be hurtful to her majesty's interests."¹ When

¹ St. Sulpice states that, when the queen mentioned to Doña Juana

she was alone with the king, Elizabeth relates, that she told her husband she had received a letter from his sister, in which queen Marie expressed great satisfaction at the prospect of an alliance between Don Carlos and the archduchess her daughter—her majesty excepting only one drawback to her perfect content. The king asked what was the hindrance to her satisfaction, alluded to by his sister. Elizabeth replied, “Queen Marie, regrets that she cannot ask the hand of M. le prince for herself, which is the one hindrance to her complete satisfaction. Nevertheless, two hindrances would diminish my own personal satisfaction at this proposed alliance. These are the claims of my sister, madame Marguerite, and those of madame la princesa, Doña Juana.” Philip gravely replied, “Señora, the prince our son is too young, and his health so precarious, that it will suffice to discuss this matter at some future opportunity.”¹ Queen Catherine, however, aware how much might be hidden beneath this indifference affected by Philip relative to his son’s betrothment, commenced a counter negotiation, by directing the French ambassador at the court of the emperor Ferdinand, to propose the future union of the young archduchess with Charles IX.

the probability that a marriage might be concluded between Don Carlos and herself, the princess replied : “Madame, je vous prie de n’en laisser pas de parler au roy de la proposition de ma sœur : car quant à moi je n’espère rien du prince,” showing, at the same time, continued the ambassador, “quelque dédain et méfiance.”

¹ St. Sulpice à la royne mère. MS. Bibl. Imp. F. de Harley, 228.—Ined.

Queen Marie eagerly entered into the design. Catherine however, in this, as in many of her combinations, defeated her purpose ; for the comparatively little anxiety afterwards displayed by his sister to pursue her negotiation for the hand of Don Carlos, eventually determined Philip to appear to sanction the proposal for the eventual betrothal of his son with the arch-duchess.

The marriage of the prince, young as he was, nevertheless, began to be seriously discussed by Spaniards of all ranks. The States-General, when assembled by the king in 1563, petitioned his majesty, to “bestow the hand of Doña Juana on the prince his son, or at any rate not to give him a foreign consort.” Philip replied, “that the states might rest tranquil on this matter ; for he held their petition to be prudent and loyal. When the prince, his son, was of suitable years to contract matrimony, it was his intention to give him a Spanish consort—(*Castillana*).”¹ When the proposition of the states became known to the prince, his rage at the interference of the members was excessive. He menaced them with his undying vengeance, for their proposal of marrying him to Doña Juana, his aunt ; and, subsequently, after the lapse of several years, Don Carlos clearly manifested that he had by no means forgotten the affront offered to him by the deputies.

¹ Régistre des dépêches de M. de St. Sulpice, ambassadeur en Espagne. Bibl. Imp., 9746, tom. i. p. 132—3. 23 Juillet, 1563.—Ined.

CHAPTER V.

Sojourn of Elizabeth at Aranjuez during Lent, 1561—Elizabeth writes to congratulate Charles IX. on his accession—Verses presented to the queen by Don Carlos—Unpopularity of Catherine de Medici in Spain—Her government—The Guises—Interview between Elizabeth and the duke of Alba—Correspondence of the queen with her mother—Mission of M. de Méru to the Spanish court—Betrothment of mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the count d'Eu—Departure of the French ladies of Elizabeth's household—Present sent by Catherine to her daughter—Employments of the queen of Spain—Mission of the Sieur d'Auzance—Elizabeth is requested to mediate for the restoration of Upper Navarre to Antoine de Bourbon—Departure of Mary Stuart from France—Nomination of the marquis de St. Sulpice to be the French ambassador at the court of Madrid—El Escorial—Illness of Don Carlos—His peril—Correspondence of the queen of Spain with her mother—The court departs for Segovia and Aranjuez—Accident happens to Doña Juana—Audience granted by the sovereigns of Spain to St. Sulpice—Peace of Orleans—Details of Elizabeth's life—Appointments in the household of Don Carlos—Illness of Doña Juana and Don Carlos—Departure of Philip II. for Monzon—Interview between St. Sulpice and La Princesa—The Cortès of Arragon.

THE season of Lent, 1561, was kept with rigorous devotion by the inmates of Aranjuez, excepting by the queen, and her cousin, mademoiselle de Montpensier. Philip, believing that his consort's health was not sufficiently restored to permit her to join in the devotional exercises of the season, applied to the papal legate, the bishop of Terracina for a dispensation, authorizing the queen to eat meat daily, and

to perform her devotions privately in her chamber. The prelates present at Aranjuez to lead the devotions of the court, were the cardinal of Burgos Mendoza, the Inquisitor-general Valdez, archbishop of Seville, Fray Diego de Chaves confessor to Philip, Con-sillii, and Pacheco, Elizabeth's chaplain and confessor, and the abbé St. Etienne, her high almoner. Don Carlos, the princess Juana, and all the members of the royal household were also assembled at Aranjuez. Every day the morning's religious service lasted six hours, concluding between one and two in the afternoon, at which, Philip, his son, and the court were present.¹ In the evening, there was a lecture delivered in turn by each of the prelates. The king remained at Aranjuez during the first four weeks of Lent; he then took his departure thence, and retired into strict seclusion in a monastery, probably that of San Juan de los Reyes, in Toledo, where he remained until after the festival of Easter. Elizabeth staid at Aranjuez, attended by the *camaréra-mayor*, the duchess of Alba, and the princess of Eboli. Don Carlos, with his tutor, Don Garcia de Toledo, and his governor, the prince of Eboli, was permitted by his father to reside with the court; but the princess Doña Juana, retired to Nuestra Señora de Carmel, a convent in the vicinity of Toledo, for the performance of still more rigid austerities during Passion Week.

One of Elizabeth's first employments after she was

¹ Madame de Clermont à la royne mère—Négociations sous François II, p. 812.

convalescent, was to write congratulations to her brother Charles IX. on his accession. A more graceful and affectionate note has been seldom written, than that sent by the queen to her little brother, whose reign had opened under the shadow of civil commotion and bloodshed.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO CHARLES IX., KING
OF FRANCE.

Monsieur,

My illness has been the reason why I have not written to you since the great fortune which has happened to you by the lamented decease of the late king, our brother. I must not, however, now omit to observe how fervent ought our prayers, to be to God that he may preserve the queen, our mother, whom we are still fortunate enough to retain, praying that she may long be left to us. Although I know, monsieur, that you will not fail to pay her obedience, I will sometimes remind you how greatly it is your duty to love and honour her; as to her you owe every blessing, and dignity which is now yours. I have taken the liberty of writing thus to you, monsieur, knowing that this, my advice will conduce to your renown; and that though your condition is now different, you have not altered in your affection for me; and that you will always continue to love me. I very urgently beseech you always to hold in gracious favour,

Your very good and loving sister,

ELIZABETH.

The queen took the air daily in the gardens and beautiful glens of Aranjuez, which then, as now, were famed for the nightingales that there sought the leafy

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 832.

covert, so seldom to be seen in Spain. The works in the gardens proceeded under the superintendence of Elizabeth, who was borne about in a magnificent sedan, the gift of her royal husband. Whilst Elizabeth amused herself with plans for the garden, Philip rebuilt and enlarged the palace after designs by Herrera. He also caused cascades and fountains to be constructed ; and planted a stately avenue with elm trees which he brought from England. The prince, during this, his sojourn at Aranjuez, demeaned himself more like a sane person than was his wont. The beauty and gentleness of the young queen, commanded his respect : besides it was the custom of Don Carlos, while he spoke contemptuously of his father, to pay marked homage to Elizabeth ; and in this design, knowing how galling it was to the king, he always persisted. Often the rudeness of the censure pronounced by Don Carlos on his father's actions, shocked the queen. With scornful ridicule he commented on the over devotion displayed by the king in the terrible presence of Valdez himself ; and counted in derision the garments contributed by his Catholic majesty to the wardrobes of our lady of Toledo and Guadaloupé. The prince was insolent enough one day to present the following *dixain* to the young Elizabeth :

“ Par un dizain, Madame j'ay vu *
Du roy absent, la royne se plaint fort ;
Mais pour cela aussi j'ai apperçu
Que cause suis de ce grand décomfort.
Confessez-moi si de juger aye tort

Que votre main là écrit pour le roy
 Et votre espoir l'a seul pensé pour moi !
 Répondez—donc—ou je suis trepassé
 Sans votre cœur, très bien j'aperçois.
 Vivez donc du mien qui pour vous m'a laissé !"¹

Another day he presented her majesty with the following doggrel, addressed to a favourite parrot belonging to the queen :

" Si vous pouviez ô heureux Perroquet
 Ma volonté et mon affection
 Bien declarer par votre bon cacquet.
 Si vous pouviez dire ma passion
 Etant au lieu de ma dévotion,
 L'on prêteroit plus volontiers l'oreille
 A vous disant ma douleur non pareille
 Que si moi-même en disoit vérité.
 Perroquet donc, je vous prie et conseille
 Parlez pour moi, puisque este écouté !"²

If these effusions were perused by the king, it cannot be wondered that his heart daily became more sternly inclined towards his misguided son.

Amongst other and minor causes of vexation which, at this time, assailed Elizabeth, was the growing unpopularity of her mother throughout Spain. Philip, and his subjects could not forgive the queen for the summary ejection of the Guises from power—nor were they more inclined to tolerate the comparative freedom in religious matters, which Catherine had established in France. Madame de Clermont took upon herself to become the exponent of the feeling, dominant at the court of her royal

¹ Ancien Fonds François—MS. Bibl. Imp., 7237, p. 38.—Ined.

² Ibid..

mistress, to queen Catherine ; whether actuated by zeal for Catherine's repute, or prompted by that contentious spirit, which had before so unfortunately manifested itself, it were difficult to say. "Madame," wrote she, before Easter Day of 1561, when Catherine had scarcely wielded the sceptre three months, "it is said here that war will soon be declared between the two countries, at which suspicion, I assure you, your daughter is not a little pained, and she bids me beseech you to reflect well upon it, and to remember there is nothing in the world likely to be more injurious to your proposed alliances. I fear, madame, we may no longer hope to see these accomplished ; for I am told that those around you deceive your majesty, and that they seek other benefit than your own. In this court, madame, they describe the condition of your court, and realm, as resembling that of England ; and, it is said, that since M. le cardinal de Lorraine quitted your council, that everything has gone wrong, for he is esteemed here to be a good Christian, and a prelate, who rendered your majesty worthy service. It is, moreover, said, that all the persons about your majesty, are well wishers of the king of Navarre ; and that the said king, under the cloak of religion, is raising troops to invade his kingdom, (Spanish Navarre). I assure you, madame, should such be the fact, that they will meet with a warm reception there ; for already this government is levying money and troops, and those who presume may perhaps feel the issue.

The queen, your daughter, dreads greatly, therefore, to witness this contention—though, madame, she fears more for the safety of your lives, than any other thing. The king, her husband, has frequently told her majesty that this is what he fears most, considering the religion which they profess, and as your majesty has no one in whom you may confide. They say, all of them, that they are convinced that your majesty is grieved at the condition of affairs; but, madame, would it not be more politic in your majesty to establish greater devotion, and to chastise some of the culprits, if only to demonstrate that you do not support them? They know here all that concerns you, much sooner than we do: they always inform us, taking care, however, to represent matters worse than they are. I always affect to believe that they are speaking in jest.”¹

All this outcry was occasioned by the publication of the Edict of January 1561; a measure, by which the queen-regent making trifling concession to the Calvinists, and granting them permission to worship publicly in the suburbs of certain towns, quelled, for the time, the civil war which menaced every province in the realm. It was every where reported that Catherine was forsaking the faith of her fathers—that the reformed doctrines were dominant at court; and that the young king was suffered to jest irreverently, and even to mock at the services of the

¹ Lettre de madame de Clermont à la royne mère—Bibl. Imp, Pontef. l'Aubespine.—Ined.

altar. The Guises unable to repress their irritation at their exclusion as ministers from the council, grossly misrepresented the actions of the king of Navarre and his adherents. The papal nuncio, piqued at his own want of influence, and appalled at the licence tolerated by the once orthodox court, gave utterance to sinister predictions. Catherine gave some colour to these representations by writing at this season her celebrated letter to Pius IV, in which she demanded the cup for the laity, and the abolition of images in the church.¹ She had, also, avowed her intention of inviting both religious parties to a public disputation after the coronation of the king—a design to which she adhered with characteristic determination despite the displeasure evinced by her son-in-law. Many disconsolate letters, however, did Catherine address at this season to her daughter, lamenting the misrepresentations current concerning her presumed change of faith. She pathetically mourns the return of the duke de Guise to court ; dreading, as she declares, lest the jealousies and enmity between Guise and the king of Navarre may result in new troubles. “Madame ma fille,” wrote Catherine,² “you perceive how they (the Catholic party) unite to play me false under colour of religion, saying, that I wish to change my faith, by which they desire to deprive me of my authority,

¹ Mémoires de Condé, p. 562. De Thou—Hist. de son Temps. Lettre de la royne mère à Pie IV.

² Négociations sous François II., p. 831.

and my children. On the other hand, they tell the king of Navarre that to govern alone, is the only way to win back his kingdom; so that having all things under his authority, he can commence war when it pleases him; but whilst I possess power, war will never be undertaken for his benefit—which is true. Therefore, m'amy, if you love me, try to persuade the king your husband to give him (the king of Navarre) some promise of restitution or compensation; so that those (the Guises) who wished to alienate your father from me, and then your brother, and who now only fear that power should remain in my hands, lest I may punish the evil offices which they have sought to do me, may be disappointed in their designs." Catherine, throughout a letter of some length, continues to implore her daughter to cause Navarre to be restored to Antoine de Bourbon. In another letter, closely following the one quoted above, Catherine says, "Ma fille, as to what is said about the king of Navarre involving us in a war, I pray you to assure your husband, that so long as he shall desire our friendship, it shall be his, as I have nothing more at heart than this. I pray you, moreover, believe not what you hear from this court, for they (the princes of Lorraine) are so sorry to govern no longer, that they do their utmost to make me hated, and to interrupt the friendship between the king your husband and myself; in the belief that if war broke forth, I should put myself into their hands; but I promise you, that I shall do no such

thing. They have proved themselves too ungrateful, and have half ruined this kingdom ; but now that the cardinal interferes no longer, I have good hope of re-establishing affairs.”¹ Catherine’s hate of the princes of Guise, could scarcely be expressed in stronger language, than that which she uses throughout her correspondence with Spain. Her pressing entreaties that Philip would restore the kingdom of Navarre, or at least bestow compensation on Antoine de Bourbon, arose from her knowledge that the Guises, aided by Chantonnay, and the nuncio, availed themselves of this lure to entice the king of Navarre to their party and faith—and she hoped to defeat these machinations if, through persuasion or diplomacy, she could herself induce Philip to concede the greatly desired boon. Nothing was farther from Philip’s intentions, however, than to relinquish Navarre, then one of the most flourishing and thriving provinces of his realm—although he suffered the restitution of this heritage of Jeanne d’Albret, to be the imaginary bribe by which he tempted the weak-minded Antoine de Bourbon, from his religion, his allegiance, and his conjugal faith.

Elizabeth felt great consternation on receiving this doleful account, from her mother, of affairs in France : a novice in politics, she had not as yet acquired the diplomatic *aplomb* which hears with apathy, and acts with deliberation. In great haste, therefore, she despatched a messenger for

¹ Négociations sous François II., p. 845.—Lettre de la royne mère à la royne Catholique.

the duque de Alba, requesting the minister to wait upon her without delay, as in the absence of his majesty she had something to communicate. The queen, as soon as Alba entered her presence, imparted her misgivings, and ended the recital by demanding of the duke "on his faith and honour, whether he thought that the Catholic king was willing to make some compensation to M. de Vendôme?" The duke replied, "that on his honour he did not know, but as soon as he could ascertain anything on the subject, he would inform her majesty."¹ With this reply, Elizabeth was compelled to be content; she, however, wrote to promise her mother, that when Philip returned she would personally ascertain his disposition respecting the said M. de Vendôme. Deeper, however, became the blame and obloquy heaped upon the queen-mother of France, before the return of Philip to Aranjuez. It transpired at the Spanish court, through the correspondence of the nuncio with Rome, that the queen had decreed the release of all arrested for heresy, and of those already condemned to penalties during the late reigns; moreover, that king Charles never attended mass; and that the *prêches* of the Huguenot ministers, were the only religious meetings patronized at St. Germain. Elizabeth despatched letters of remonstrance to the queen, her mother, on this report, which she said had "scandalized her court." She admonished the queen-regent, that unless the policy

¹ Négociations sous François II., p. 846.—Lettre de la royne Catholique à la royne mère.

of Francis II were restored in France, and the Guises suffered again to take their place in the privy council, that nothing would be obtained from the grace and favour of the king her husband, who was more interested in the maintenance of true religion, than for any other event. She, moreover, predicted that war must be the result of the establishment, or even of the toleration of the Calvinistic faith in France; as France being Huguenot the heresy would soon spread to the Low Countries, and into Spain, a condition of things not to be tolerated by the government. Elizabeth continues to advise her mother to dismiss M. de Vendôme, and the constable de Montmorency from her council, unless they both loyally united with the princes of Lorraine for the restoration of the orthodox faith to its primitive lustre. Catherine was so incensed at these reports, that she forthwith responded, in a letter of a few lines, denying the imputation, until she could send a special ambassador into Spain to discourse at large with the queen, her daughter, on the position of affairs. "Madame ma fille," wrote the queen-regent.¹ "I assure you that they have lied in all the stories that they told you respecting the king your brother; for the cardinal de Tournon has owned to me that false reports have been spread; the said cardinal having frequently seen your brother at mass. So many falsehoods are repeated to you, which I regret,

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 849—*Lettre de la royne mère à la royne Catholique.*

seeing the affliction which they cause you. I counsel you, madame, however, to follow my example, and despise such wicked slanderers ; for I promise you, ma fille, that even my valet-de-chambre, possesses greater sense of honour, and probity, than those said personages."

Catherine, seeing how necessary it was to remove the ill impression which existed in Spain relative to her policy ; and to convince Philip, if possible, of her desire to maintain the Catholic faith, accredited M. de Méru, the third son of the constable de Montmorency, to proceed into Spain, the bearer of letters from herself and king Charles to Philip and Elizabeth. The Spanish ambassador, Chantonnay, having been apprised of the intended mission of Méru, through some indiscreet comment made by the king of Navarre, requested audience of Catherine de Medici, to ascertain, if possible, the nature of the ambassador's mission, that he might forewarn the Spanish cabinet. Catherine coldly replied, "that the ambassador was proceeding into Spain to cheer her daughter doña Isabel, and to deny the scandalous falsehoods of some, who told her majesty, that war was impending between the two countries." "Upon this," adds Chantonnay, complacently, in his despatch to his royal master. "I observed that it could inspire no wonder to her majesty, that the queen our mistress should mourn, when she heard of such doings ; as she loves your Catholic majesty so truly, that she cannot fail, without great

tribulation, to learn that it is possible she may see her husband and her brother at war together, for that such reports ought to have no foundation whatever.”¹

Méru arrived at Toledo about the period of the Easter festivities, after the queen had quitted Aranjuez. He presented letters from the king, the queen-regent, and the duchess of Savoy, congratulating Philip on his consort's recovery. The envoy also was commissioned by Catherine to enter at length into the political condition of France; and to obtain from the king of Spain, a distinct promise of neutrality, in any pending civil contest; or of armed intervention at the suit only of the queen-regent. King Charles, in his letter, thanked his Catholic majesty for the affection which he bore the queen, his sister; and expressed a desire to visit the frontier of Spain.² “That which your Christian majesty writes to me concerning the care which I lately took of the health of the queen, my consort, seems to me little, indeed, in comparison to the love I bear her,” wrote king Philip, in his reply to Charles IX.:³ “she is so good a wife, that I experience in her society all the satisfaction your majesty can desire; perceiving, as I do that the love and good-will she offers me, are equal to that which I bear towards her.” Philip

¹ Chantonnay à Philippe II.—MS. Simancas, K. 1390, C. B., No. 53, p. 18.—Ined.

² Lettre de Charles IX. à Philippe II.—MS. Simancas, K. 1392, C., Ined.

³ Carta de Don Felipe II., al Christianissimo Rey de Francia—MS. Simancas, K. 1392, C. B. 18, No. 134.—Ined.

expresses, no less fervently, his satisfaction with his consort, in the letter that he, on this occasion, writes to Catherine, which is thus :—

PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN, TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

“ Señora,

“ M. de Méru has delivered to me your majesty’s letter, and has been admitted by me to audience. I have heard what he was commissioned to report to me, upon which happy news I congratulate myself infinitely, and also your majesty, who deserves this contentment. Likewise, I feel gratitude that your majesty has been pleased to communicate it to me through a person of such condition as your said ambassador. Also, your majesty daily confers upon me fresh obligations, by the affection you demonstrate, and to repay which, I know not how, excepting by offering you a similar return. The health of the queen, my wife, is so precious to me, that all the efforts which we made to preserve her life, seem to me as nothing. Blessed be God, who has vouchsafed to us this mercy ! She is now in a favourable condition of health, as M. de Méru will inform you ; and also of all other matters which your majesty may desire to learn, so that I may be excused from troubling you with a longer letter, as his understanding is great. From him, who desires to serve and to please you, and who is, Señora, the

“ Buen hijo y hermano de vuestra magestad,”

“ EL REY.”¹

In this letter Philip, with great ingenuity, leaves the queen to conjecture whether he congratulates her

¹ Carta de Don Felipe II., à la reyna Christianissima Catalina de Medici su Madre y Señora—MS. Archives de Simancas, K. 1392, C. B. 18, No. 113.—Ined.

upon the alleged improvement of affairs in France ; or upon the pregnancy of Marguerite, duchess de Savoye, which the ambassador de Méru, had been commissioned to announce.

During the sojourn of Méru at the Spanish court, the count d'Eu arrived, and the ceremony of his betrothment with Anne de Bourbon Montpensier, was solemnized with great pomp in the presence of their Catholic majesties. * The duchess de Montpensier wrote a long letter to that much oppressed individual de l'Aubespine, giving him directions as to the manner in which she desired the count to be received ; and she especially enjoins upon him to take care that the ceremony of affiancing is immediately performed, "as," says the prudent duchess, "I always like when it is possible to make things so certain, that neither ridicule nor disappointment may ensue."¹ She then requests the ambassador to ask Philip to confer some lands and moneys, which appertained to the deceased constable de Bourbon, on the duke de Montpensier, nephew and heir of the said duke de Bourbon. Philip, of course, politely expressed surprise, that while any of the French fiefs of the constable remained alienate from his heirs, under ban of confiscation, it could be supposed that restitution would be made of what the duke de Bourbon held from the imperial generosity of Charles V. Philip bestowed a present of royal munificence, it is said,

¹ La duchesse de Montpensier à M. de Limoges, ambassadeur de France en Espagne, Portef. de l'Aubespine, Bibl. Imp., MS.—Ined.

upon the bride ; but of what the gift consisted is not on record. A few days after the ceremony of betrothment had been performed, the royal bride and her affianced consort, set out on their journey homewards, accompanied by madame de Clermont, madame de Nau, Mesdemoiselles de Torigny, de Noyon, de Fumel, de Curton, de la Motte, and de Montal, besides many other inferior persons of the queen's household. Elizabeth parted from "her joyous French maidens" with tears, and promises, on her majesty's part, that she would always promote their fortune in acknowledgment of their faithful service. She, moreover, presented each of them with the sum of 4000 crowns, as a marriage portion,¹ gracefully adding, "that the donation was made at the desire of king Philip." Most of these ladies were received by Catherine into her own household ; while their places in Spain were filled by Spanish ladies, who had long been nominated to their posts—the duchess of Alba accepting the vacant office of lady of honour, resigned by the countess de Clermont. Madame de Vineux, and mesdemoiselles de St. Ana, de St. Legier, and de Riberac, with the venerable abbé de St. Etienne, were then the only French personages of note appertaining to Elizabeth's household—while great was the joy which the departure of their companions occasioned throughout Spain.

Catherine de Medici, meanwhile, continued to observe anxiously the intrigues of the princes of

¹ Brantôme—*Dames Illustres*. Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

Lorraine, to marry their niece in Spain. After Easter, March, 1561, the French court repaired to Fontainebleau, where the young widow of Francis II still lingered. Of Mary's melancholy solitude there, Ronsard says, in one of his odes, addressed to the royal mourner—

“ De blanc habit, Madame, étiez accoutrée
Partant hélas ! de la belle contrée
Dont avez eu le sceptre dans la main,
Lorsque pensive et baignant votre sein
Du beau crystal de vos larmes roulées ;
Triste, marchiez par les longues allées
Du grand jardin de ce royal château
Qui prend son nom de la source d'une eau.”¹

Probably Mary would then have given her fair Scottish crown, never to have provoked the hatred of her mother-in-law: for, in vain, she now essayed the power of her fascinations, to kindle a spark of sympathy in the stern heart of the queen-regent. Speaking of Mary Stuart to the bishop of Limoges, Catherine writes, after her arrival at Fontainebleau, “ One of her uncles is gone into Champagne,² and she was to have followed three days after our arrival; but this period has been lengthened: she (queen Mary) shows herself as obsequious to me as she ever did; but I am not deceived as to her true sentiments.”³ Catherine certainly put Mary's complaisance to a severe test, as during her sojourn with the court, she exacted her daughter-in-law's attendance at the ser-

¹ Oeuvres de Ronsard—Ecalogue.

² To the duke's castle of Joinville.

³ Négociations sous François II., p. 819.

mons preached at this season before the king, by the heretic Montluc bishop of Valence, one of the greatest masters in pulpit oratory of the age, although Chantonnay speaks scornfully of his eloquence on these occasions. He says, “The bishop of Valence, at the request of several personages, has obtained permission to preach before the Christian king and the two queens. In his sermons, the bishop displayed more venom than argument and learning; so that his addresses have been usually incomprehensible—without head or tail, (*ses sermons ont été sans ordre ni queue ni tête.*”¹

Philip, meantime—who never, in reality, intended to ally his son with the house of Lorraine—perceiving the perturbation which these intrigues occasioned in the French cabinet; and suspecting that the overtures made by the regent to Antoine de Bourbon and his brothers, arose from her dread of the underhand dealings of the Catholic party, headed by the Guises, one day desired his consort to write to her mother, and assure the queen, that the marriage between Don Carlos and the queen of Scots would never have his assent. Elizabeth, for some reason, pretended complete ignorance of the affair. “I assured my lord the king,” writes she,² “that you, madame, had never written to me on the subject; and that I believed you had no suspicion of any such

¹ Lettres de Chantonnay—Mém. de Condé, t. II. p. 4.

² Négociations sous François II.—Lettre de la royne Catholique à la royne mère, p. 847

event: nevertheless, that as it was his majesty's command, I would write to you on the matter." Why Elizabeth chose to be so disingenuous on this occasion, it is hard to divine; especially, as she constantly expresses the most ardent desire to share the political cares, and projects of her royal spouse. Catherine, only a few days previous to this intimation made by Philip, had addressed the following extraordinary suggestions to her daughter, relative to the marriage of Don Carlos—a matter, which assuredly evoked strange speculations in the active mind of the queen-regent. She advises Elizabeth, if she cannot contrive a marriage between the prince and Marguerite her sister, to cast the weight of her influence in the scale of the princess doña Juana, "for, ma fille, the best that can happen to us, if the prince does not espouse your sister, is, that he should marry his aunt."¹ One of the chief arguments which Catherine uses to induce Elizabeth to oppose the establishment in Spain of Mary Stuart is, "that in the event of Don Carlos ascending the throne, it would be expedient for her daughter to find a friend and protector in the new queen;" by which, therefore, it is evidently to be inferred, that in the queen of Scots, the companion of her youth, Elizabeth would not have found support. It gave Philip, moreover, some satisfaction, at this period to notify to his mother-in-law, that Don Carlos, instead of indulging in dreams of liberty and emancipation from control, was then

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 863—814.

undergoing a course of discipline and study, at the university of Alcalà de Henares.

About this season, Catherine sent two palfreys richly caparisoned, and some noble greyhounds as a present to her daughter; "that she might have something to offer to the king agreeable to his majesty's tastes." At the same time, the queen wrote to congratulate Philip on the complete recovery of his son, Don Carlos, from his ague.

The deportment of the young queen continued to give much content to her subjects. Elizabeth seems to have entirely adapted her habits and occupations to the grave and ceremonious customs of Spain. Every evening her majesty held a reception for privileged courtiers; and twice a week a *besamanos* for the court generally. Philip, regularly spent two hours of the afternoon in the society of his consort; sometimes visiting her in her apartments, or escorting her abroad, when at Aranjuez, or Madrid. At this former place, the queen enjoyed a pleasure, which reminded her of the luxurious entertainments given by the queen-mother, at her *château* of Chenonceau. When the weather was propitious, Elizabeth regaled her court with sylvan entertainments, amid the woody glades of Aranjuez. These *escotes* soon became renowned; for a fête so opposed to Spanish notions of ceremonious dignity, became popular amongst the grandees from its very novelty. Another royal diversion, more in accord with the taste of the people was, when Philip and Elizabeth, attended by their prelates and court rode out in

procession to receive and escort to its shrine some newly discovered relic. On rare occasions the entire skeleton of a saint was the object of Philip's pious zeal; and more money was lavished on the ceremony than would have clothed the ragged population of the Madrid of those days, before the royal preference converted that town of the arid plain, to be the "*villa mas honrada*" of Castile. Elizabeth's amusements, generally, were not of a very exciting character; they consisted in making visits to the cloisters and churches of Toledo. Her appearance, however, was loudly hailed, and when her majesty drove out, her coach was followed by a great concourse of people, uttering cordial cheers for, "Isabel de la Paz, y de la Bondad." Brantôme relates that so great was her popularity, that people had been heard to congratulate each other after they had seen the queen; and to be able to say, "*j'ai vu la Royne*," was considered an enviable distinction.¹

During one of these expeditions, an accident happened to the queen, which fortunately was not attended with serious results. One afternoon, after sunset, Elizabeth attended by the condesa de Urueña, the duchess of Alba, and other ladies, went in a litter drawn by mules to the convent of Santa Clara, to walk in the extensive gardens appertaining to the nunnery. After an interval, the queen was joined by Doña Juana, who proposed, as the evening was sultry, to quit the convent garden, and drive into the open

¹ Brantôme—Dames Illustres. Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

country without the gates of the city, to which the queen assented. The duchess of Alba, as first lady, had followed her majesty riding in a coach alone. This vehicle could hold three persons only—it had a centre seat richly adorned, which was occupied by the duchess, and two seats placed over the wheels, each having only a very narrow ledge for the feet to rest on. The queen and the princess sent away their litters, and declared, as the weather was so hot, that they would ride with the duchess of Alba in her coach; and without heeding the representations of the *camaréra*, they took possession of the two seats over the wheels, the queen having first commanded the duchess to keep her place. The *camaréra*, therefore, reluctantly handed the queen's train to the duchess, admonishing her to be careful, as the robe was very wide and ample. The party proceeded merrily for the greater part of an hour, the queen laughing and enjoying the freshness of the evening. Elizabeth's train, however, during this pleasant parlance accidentally escaped from the hand of the duchess of Alba, and falling upon the wheels, had become gradually entangled round them. The mules were going at a very swift pace, when suddenly her majesty's train was violently rent from the bodice of her robe; the shock being so unexpected as to precipitate her forwards from her seat. For a few seconds the queen was dragged along the ground; but as she had fortunately fallen just beyond the wheels, she experienced no other injury than

extreme fright. The frantic cries of Doña Juana and the duchess, having at length stopped the coach, Elizabeth was raised fainting with alarm, and conveyed to her litter in which the *camaréra-mayor* was riding. The condesa and Doña Juana, most sedulously attended the queen; and the party immediately returned to the palace, in trembling apprehension of the extreme wrath of the king. Elizabeth was carried to her chamber, and immediately visited by her surgeons and physicians. In the midst of their consultation the door opened, and Philip entered. The news of his consort's fall had been communicated to the king while presiding at the council of state. He immediately dismissed the members; and in a state of great anger and alarm, proceeded to the queen's apartments. The report of the surgeons, however, tranquillized the king, who assured his majesty that the queen was not seriously hurt, and would soon recover from her fright. The royal pair afterwards supped together privately, attended by the condesa de Urueña. The king, during the repast, laughed at the adventure; though he strictly forbade the *camaréra* ever to yield her right to ride with the queen to another. His majesty, moreover, added some jesting words, and teased the queen on the accident, conduct which so offended Elizabeth, that the royal pair soon after separated in mutual displeasure. The following morning, however, Elizabeth went early to visit her consort, and after remaining some time together, the king and queen appeared in

public, Philip displaying the most tender anxiety respecting the health of the queen. She afterwards granted audience to the French ambassador, "the sight of her majesty quite relieved my fears," writes de l'Aubespine, "for thank God she looked as *gaillarde* and lively as ever she did in her life."

Catherine had not leisure to write her accustomed voluminous letters of congratulation and admonition upon this occasion. The solemnities of the coronation of the young king Charles IX then occupied her attention. The ceremony took place on Ascension Day, 1561. The sovereigns of Spain sent an ambassador to convey letters of congratulation to Catherine, coupled with earnest injunctions that the queen-regent should steadily maintain the honour and the privileges of the papacy. In reciting the preparations in progress for the august ceremony, Chantonnay had sarcastically observed "that a place in the procession would undoubtedly be assigned to Dame Isabel de Hauteville," the personage whom the cardinal de Chatillon avowed to be his wife,² and who lived with that prelate under the title of madame de Beauvais—Beauvais, being the cardinal's episcopal see. Elizabeth in her astonishment at such an anomaly as a married cardinal, addressed a little note, written one night at her *coucher*, to the ambassador de l'Aubespine asking him to visit her

¹ St. Sulpice à la royne mère, MS. Bibl. Imp., F. de Harlay, 228, fol. 166.—Ined.

² Lettres de Chantonnay au roi Catholique—Mém. de Condé, t. II.

and explain this incident, which she evidently deemed a jest.

The king of Navarre, meantime, resolved after the coronation of the king, to make one final effort to procure from Philip the restitution of the realm of Navarre; although he still professed himself a steadfast upholder of Calvinism. The sieur d'Auzance was, therefore, accredited by the king and queen of Navarre for this purpose. The displeasure of Philip, however, having been recently strongly evinced, and the secretaries of state, Vasquez and Eraso, always potent in their influence over their master, being known to be hostilely inclined towards king Antoine, d'Auzance was directed by king Charles, to apply, in the first instance, to the queen of Spain. Elizabeth was requested to procure audience for the ambassador, and to act according to her best discretion in the matter. It was no easy task that, which her kindred so inconsiderately imposed upon the queen. Catherine's harangue on the dissolution of the States-General, August 27, 1561, and the conferences about to be holden between the Protestants and Roman Catholics at Poissy, having inflamed the orthodox cabinet of the Spanish king to a high pitch of animosity.

The pretensions of the king of Navarre, involved all who were connected with him in embarrassments. To content Antoine de Bourbon at this crisis, was a matter of important moment to Catherine de Medici. Already the germ of the coalition afterwards

termed the Triumvirate, or the union of the political influences of Montmorency, Guise, and St. André, had manifested itself; and the queen-regent dreaded to find her position isolated, and the sceptre hurled from her grasp. Charles IX, at his mother's bidding, thus addressed his royal sister, on the mission of the sieur d'Auzance.

CHARLES IX.. KING OF FRANCE, TO ELIZABETH, QUEEN
OF SPAIN.

“Madame ma sœur,

“I send the sieur d'Auzance, gentleman of my chamber, who will deliver this letter to you, accompanied by the bishop of Auxerre, whom the king of Navarre my uncle, has despatched to the king my brother, to beseech him to have regard to the long time he has been deprived of his kingdom; and to inform his Catholic majesty, that at length, the pope has done him justice by receiving his ambassador, with the same honours as those of other sovereigns. Taking into consideration the service which the said king of Navarre has rendered to me, and the obedience which he demonstrates to the commands of the queen my mother, I must, as a brother, speak frankly to your majesty, and acknowledge that I love the said king much, and greatly desire his contentment on all matters, and the more especially on this affair, (of the restitution of his realm) as I think his demand just, and reasonable. Therefore, my sister, I beseech that in this matter, you will let me see that you bear me affection, by aiding the said king of Navarre to the extent of your power. From,

“Your good brother,

“CHARLES.”¹

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp.—F. de l'Aubespine Villebon.—Ined.

Catherine wrote the most urgent appeal to Elizabeth's affection and patriotism; forgetting that as Catholic queen of Spain, it was an impossible request for her daughter to prefer to her royal husband—that of praying the king to relinquish, for ever, a flourishing territory, eighty miles in length, with a population exceeding 300,000 souls; conquered, it was true, in 1512, from the house of Albret, but now firmly incorporated with the Spanish crown by a tenure of more than forty-nine years. The queen also pathetically entreats her daughter to gain over to the interests of Antoine de Bourbon, and of her kindred, the secretaries Vasquez and Eraso, the duque de Alba, and Ruy Gomez. Nothing can be more essentially selfish than the course of Catherine's politics at this season. In her zeal to attain her end, Catherine even dictated to her daughter the words she was to use, when she made the attempt to persuade her husband to dismember the realm of Charles V, to endow so worthless a prince as Antoine de Bourbon. “Ma fille, m'amy, if you love me and care for my repose, I beseech you heed not what the ambassador¹ may say; but when you are quite alone with your husband speak to him thus,” says the royal diplomatist. “Monsieur, you will not, I am sure, feel offence at what the queen my mother, has written respecting the king of Navarre; nor yet will you be displeased

¹ The bishop of Limoges, Sebastian de l'Aubespine. The ambassador was hostile to the princes of Bourbon, and hated king Antoine especially. His diplomacy, much to the displeasure of queen Catherine, tended to the restoration of the princes of Lorraine.

if I venture to speak to you on the subject. The queen, my mother, writes me word that if you value her life, her repose, and the preservation of our religion within the realm of France, she beseeches you very earnestly, through me, to do somewhat for the king of Navarre. She would be grieved, indeed, did your majesty suppose, she had rather that the said king of Navarre possessed any realm in preference to yourself. The affection which the queen, my mother, bears you, which is not less than that she feels towards the king her own son, induces her to employ the entreaties which she has addressed to your majesty and to myself, being persuaded, if without prejudice to yourself, you could give the king of Navarre even compensation for his kingdom, it would be a thing very beneficial to herself, and to Christendom; besides conducing to the welfare of religion, which is the reason her majesty writes thus earnestly on the subject to both of us.”¹ Catherine, however, prompted her daughter unwisely, when she desired her to give the title of king of Navarre to Antoine de Bourbon. To hear the “pretender to the kingdom of Navarre,” so designated, threw Philip into a fit of sullen displeasure: the short, and contemptuous appellation applied to king Antoine, by the Spanish cabinet in all despatches, being, “Vandoma.”

Prudently resisting her mother’s sophistry, Elizabeth gave Philip queen Catherine’s letter to read, instead of delivering the queen’s plausible message;

¹ *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 852.

and the following is the reply which the king directed his consort to return. So stern, indeed, is the letter, that it would almost authorize the supposition of its having been dictated by Philip himself.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

“Madame,

“Monsieur d’Auzance has arrived at this court at so unpropitious a time, that I feel great fear he will not meet with so good a reception as I could desire; for they (Philip’s ministers) are so possessed with amaze at all that has recently passed in France, that they give now credit to nothing. Moreover, this said court is so utterly scandalized at the assembly of bishops which you have tolerated,¹ and the permission given to the Lutherans to appear, that I firmly expected that your ambassador would have been received with closed doors, and neither heard nor seen. Your command, however, is so potent, over the king my lord (though he had reason to deem that your said ambassador came rather to declare war than aught else) that he finally resolved to grant this personage audience; which seems to me on his majesty’s part, very—² and with truth, madame, we may think so. I must, however, inform you, madame, that without the intercession made both by M. l’ambassadeur and myself, I do not believe that he (the sieur d’Auzance) would have been received. As to the desire which you, madame, have expressed, that I should make intercession in your name to the king my lord, for the king my uncle, your pleasure, madame, is sufficient to

¹ The Conferences of Poissy, direct all information concerning which Catherine had withheld from Philip II.

² This word is illegible in the original.

induce me to make every possible effort, setting aside the good will which I bear the said prince. Madame, I have requested the king my lord, to grant the favour you desire as urgently as it is possible for me to do, which M. d'Auzance will testify. The answer which the king made me was, that religious affairs, proceeding as they ought (in the realm of France) you have such power over his actions, that you can ask him nothing which he would refuse. He begs you, therefore, madame, to chastise all rebels without delay; but that if you fear to do so on account of their numbers and rank, (although the king my lord, believes that the majority of your princes, knights and gentlemen are living as faithful Christians) your majesty should apply to him for aid; as we will willingly lend you our wealth, our armies, and all that we possess to maintain the cause of religion. If you cannot do this, the king prays that you will not take it ill, if his majesty grants his favour and protection to those who suffer for the sake of their faith. This concerns his majesty very nearly; for if France becomes Lutheran, Flanders and Spain will not be far behind.

“Madame, we are well informed here, that although the king my uncle,¹ leads a godly life, we also know that he keeps about his person many persons who are worth nothing—this fact I believe does him great injury here; as it is believed that he is a consenting party to many *prêchements*, and other innovations tolerated at your court. I, therefore, counsel my said uncle, not to suffer such deeds longer; but to cause all offenders to be chastised, and to give evidence that he tolerates not such persons; otherwise, I can extend no ground for hope

¹ The king of Navarre, whom Elizabeth terms “mon oncle,” out of regard for Antoine’s rank and kinship.

respecting his desire ; as we in Spain, believe only in what we see.

“ As for yourself, madame, if you do not begin at once to chastise defaulters from our faith, I shall no longer know what apology to offer for you here. The duque de Alba has observed to me, that now, as you reign supreme over the realm, I can no longer find excuse for that which I before engaged that you should perform. I pray you, madame, do not cause me the shame of finding my promises unfulfilled as they regard the service of God, the welfare of my brothers, and the peace of Christendom. You have now every power to put down all rebels to your authority, as the king monseigneur, offers you the aid of his armies ; and if you temporize longer, their number will increase. It has been remarked, that in the days of the late king, my father, there were no defaulters after that he had chastised the first evil doers. When they would have commenced to rebel again in the days of the late king, my brother, after chastisement had been inflicted, little was heard of similar outrage. Therefore, madame, if you would also punish, they will not persist ; though, on the contrary, your leniency will render them more bold and assured. I have presumed, madame, to write thus to you, feeling assured that you will not take it in bad part, being well convinced of the affection which I bear you ; for besides the honour of being your daughter, I owe you many obligations, which I can never requite. I, therefore, pray you to pardon me if I have spoken too plainly. I must not omit to inform you, that it is, likewise, believed here, that many letters which your majesty has been pleased to address to various individuals of this court, have been written at the persuasion of certain personages. We have protested to the contrary ; but the reply made us is, that your attachment to the king, my lord, is known to be so

signal that you would never have written such epistles, but at the suggestion of others.¹

"As I do not desire to importune your majesty with a longer letter, I will refer you to M. l'ambassadeur for further details of this court. I pray God, madame, to preserve you in health and happiness, and to bestow upon you a long life.

"Your very humble, and very obedient daughter,"

"ELIZABETH."²

Very unwelcome to Catherine must have been the counsel with which her daughter plied her throughout this letter. She perceived that Philip was not to be propitiated, nor pacified with any thing less than her partial surrender of power to the Catholic faction. Catherine, however, it is but just to state, had the king of Navarre proved loyal to his alleged faith, and to the confidence she reposed in his honour and support, would have persevered in enforcing the wise tolerance, which induced her to publish the famed edict of January, 1561. The cabals of the formidable triumvirate; the desertion of the fickle Antoine de Bourbon, who, to obtain the favour of Spain, was ready to sacrifice his faith, his allegiance, and his wife; the disaffection of the parliament of Paris, that powerful and bigoted assembly; and the necessity of declaring herself a convert to the Huguenot faith, before she accepted the sword and the protection

¹ Elizabeth evidently alludes to the letters written by Catherine to the leading personages of the Spanish cabinet, entreating them to support the claims and the petition of the king of Navarre.

² MS. Bibl. Imp., F. Mortemart, 2542.—Inedited.

of the valiant Condé, finally compelled Catherine, strenuous as had been her opposition, to succumb to the faction of Spain and the house of Lorraine. One satisfaction, however, the queen-regent experienced amidst the manifold annoyances of this period—Mary Stuart took her departure from France. With an aching heart and sad presentiments, Mary bade adieu to the bright land of her adoption, where she had enjoyed the greatest splendour and luxury, which the world then afforded. Trifling and unstable to the last, queen Mary, during the summer, found solace in the homage of the gallant Henri d'Amville, Montmorency's second son, who even offered to divorce his wife, Antoinette de la Marck, to espouse her. Catherine showed no displeasure at this *empressement*, on the part of the marshal d'Amville—it fully achieved, that which, perhaps, her policy might have been at a loss to accomplish—and rendered Mary indifferent to the success of the suit made by her uncles for the hand of Don Carlos. As soon as Catherine received assurance from Philip, that the overtures of alliance made by the princes of Lorraine had failed, she became anxious for the departure of Mary from the realm—for the queen-regent never rested until she had overthrown the obstacle which caused her opposition or care. She dreaded the effect of Mary's fascinations on the heart of the young king, her son—she desired that the ocean should separate the Guises from their royal niece, whose crown they presumed to hope would shield them

from her resentment, and baffle her policy. As a parting gift, Catherine added a pension of 20,000 crowns, to the dower of her daughter-in-law, which was already large. On the 4th of August, Mary accompanied by her uncles, by d'Amville, and a numerous train of cavaliers, set out on her journey to Calais. On the 12th she embarked for Scotland. In a curious lampoon, widely circulated after the decease of Francis II, Mary is made thus to lament her fallen fortunes.

"Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo

Par mort et luy suis mise hors de regne
Et laissant France, je retourne en Lorraine.
Trop mieux valoit n'estre si haut montée
Pour tant subit en être deboutté !"¹

"I have considered the message which your husband desired you to deliver to me respecting your sister-in-law, and her intended marriage. I appreciate the cunning guile of her kindred to have proposed such to the king ; though 'tis only the confirmation of my suspicions. She (Mary Stuart) embarked eight days ago, and if the winds have been favourable, she is now in Scotland,"² wrote Catherine to her daughter, Elizabeth, at this period. When Mary embarked, however, the weather was boisterous and uncertain ; the cardinal de Lorraine, therefore,

¹ Le Pasquil de la Cour—MS. Simancas, A. B. 13, No. 36.—Med. All the leading personages of the French court are satirized in a verse of four lines. On the margin of the original document is written, probably by the hand of Chantonnay : " Por el Rey—Es un pasquin en que hay muchas heregias."

² Négociations sous François II., p. 873.

blantly proposed that the queen should leave behind, in his care, the casket of jewels, and the rich furniture and equipments, which she was taking with her to Scotland. "Monsieur," replied Mary, with ready promptness, "if I am bold enough to trust my own person on the waves, I may, surely, risk my jewels!"¹

Meanwhile, the factious proceedings of the Spanish ambassador, Chantonay, continued to give great disquietude to the queen-regent of France. He presumed to censure her actions; and frequently intruded himself into the royal presence to demand explanations on political matters;—all which, the ambassador declared that he did by the special command of king Philip. His intimate relations with the princes of Lorraine; and Chantonay's undisguised intrigues to break up the cabinet as then constituted, by inducing Antoine de Bourbon to join the leaders of the Catholic party, were facts openly notorious. The queen, therefore, wrote bitter complaints of these proceedings to Elizabeth; and though she had before so signally failed in persuading the young queen to enter upon a course of action, counter to that pursued by the Spanish ministers, she requested Elizabeth to obtain Chantonay's recall from the king her husband. Catherine, moreover, announced that the bishop of Limoges was about to be dismissed from his post of French ambassador at the court of Toledo, an office which he had filled with zeal so indefatigable. The

¹ De Thou - Hist. de son Temps, t. III. p. 100.

ostensible reason assigned for this step was, that de l'Aubespine's health required repose. The true motive, nevertheless, was that Catherine, by the removal of the ambassador, made another concession to the king of Navarre, who resented the attachment borne by the bishop for his patrons the princes of Guise, and the little he had been able to accomplish relative to a compensation for the kingdom of Navarre. The new French ambassador was the marquis de St. Sulpice, de l'Aubespine's clever secretary of legation,—a man devoted to the interests of Catherine de Medici, and willing to follow in all its phases the veering policy of his mistress. The removal of de l'Aubespine was very displeasing to the Spanish court. Elizabeth regretted his departure, and interceded that the bishop might remain at his post, "as," says she, "I deem him almost a father, for the good counsels he has so often given me." The close of the year 1561, however, found the new ambassador, St. Sulpice, established at his post. His versatile attainments, and supple temper, soon recommended him to the *bienveillance* of Philip and his minister, Alba; while the devotion which the marquis expressed towards herself, and the royal family of France, in a short time vanquished Elizabeth's prejudices.

Philip and Elizabeth spent the festival of Christmas, 1561, at Valladolid, in which ancient city—the headquarters of the tribunal of the holy office—the king presided at several *funciones* of the Inquisition.

Several of the prisoners committed under the warrant of Doña Juana and her father, Charles V., were now released from durance, after making satisfactory recantation of their heresy. Amongst other personages thus set free, was Don Luis de Rojas, son of the marquis de Poza. When a grand *auto-da-fê* was celebrated, the culprits were consigned to the pile in the presence of the king, and of the chief prelates of Spain. There remains no record of Elizabeth's presence at any of these spectacles : frequent mention is made of Doña Juana, who appears to have witnessed with unflinching zeal the torments of the poor Jewish, or Moorish victims—for, before the reign of Philip II., the Lutheran heresy had few martyrs in Spain.

The royal pair departed at the commencement of the new year for Madrid, a town which Philip began greatly to patronize on account of its vicinity to the site which he had chosen, at the foot of the bleak Guaderrama chain, for his magnificent convent palace, San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial. Granite, timber, gold, and precious gems were being at this time abundantly collected by Philip II., for that stupendous edifice, which the king raised in obedience to a vow made at the battle of St. Quentin, A.D. 1557, St. Lawrence's day, where he had sworn, if God granted victory to his general the duke of Savoy, he would build a monastery in the shape of a gridiron, the instrument upon which that saint suffered martyrdom. In erecting the Escorial, it was, moreover, Philip's desire to provide a tomb-house worthy of receiving the

bones of his father—a monarch, the grandeur of whose renown had filled the world. The architects were Herrere and Johannes Baptista. The works were placed by Philip under the control of Fray Antonio de Villacastin; and the construction of this colossal pile continued to be at once the pride and recreation of his reign. At this season, the space had alone been cleared, the boundaries of the fabrics fixed, and the preliminary charters signed. Villacastin was training his army of masons, mechanics, and priests, beneath the frowning *sierra*; while agents from the Catholic king, collected in every land, marbles and bronzes, pictures and relics; and invited foreign artists of celebrity to contribute some work of genius for the adornment of the mighty shrine raised to the memory of the deceased emperor, by his pious son and successor.¹

Don Carlos, meantime, continued his wayward courses at Alcalá. His sojourn at the college had been productive of little good. His mind stubbornly refused to accept instruction, while no one dared to enforce discipline when violated by the prince of Spain. The quarrels of Carlos with his young uncle, Don Juan of Austria, scandalized the university. Notwithstanding the contemptuous disregard which the prince usually expressed for his father, he was jealous of the favour shewn towards Don Juan, whose brilliant qualities were already conspicuous. The prince suspected the latter of reporting his conduct to

¹ Description del Real Monasterio de St. Lorenzo del Escorial, par el Padre Francisco de los Santos.

the king, and to Ruy Gomez, whom he vehemently hated. At the head of the most profligate students of Alcalà, Don Carlos committed all manner of outrages. The prince and his rebel *clique*, as of old, scoured the streets in boisterous bands, and perpetrated scandals in Madrid itself, whenever the king was absent.¹ These brawls, however, were for a time checked, by a serious accident which befel the prince. On Sunday, April 19th, Don Carlos insisted upon going privately and unattended to visit a young girl, the daughter of one of the garden porters of the university, who had unfortunately attracted his notice.² The prince, therefore, at dusk hour descended a narrow staircase seldom used, and much out of repair, at the bottom of which there was a small postern leading into the gardens. When about six steps from the bottom of the stairs, the prince, missed his footing, and fell head foremost with great violence against the door. The noise brought immediate help, and the prince was raised and carried to his chamber, stunned by the fall. The physicians, Olvarez and Vega, were summoned, who examined and bandaged a wound which they discovered on the left side of the prince's head. Don Carlos was also

¹ Quand il y alloit," says Brantôme, " par les rues, quelque belle dame, fustelle des plus grandes du monde, il la baisoit par force devant tout le monde; et il l'appelloit bagasse, chienne, et force autres injures. Bref, il étoit le fléau de toutes, fors de la reine, car j'ay vu qu'il l'honorait fort et la respectoit; car étant devant elle, il changeoit du tout d'humeur, et de naturel."

² Dépêche de Guibert à la royne mère—Bibl. Imp., MS. No. 9746—Mortemart.

bled during the evening, for feverish symptoms became manifest. Don Diego de Acuna, was next despatched to the king by Don Garcia de Toledo to inform his majesty of the accident. By eight the following morning, Philip stood by the couch of his son, and witnessed the dressing of the wound. A consultation was then holden between the physicians of the prince's household, and others in the service of the king; and, as no improvement was visible in the condition of their patient, who complained of violent pain, it was resolved to enlarge the wound, and subject the prince to a second bleeding. This being accomplished, Carlos was pronounced to be in a fair way for recovery; and, consequently, Philip and his physicians returned to the capital, the king leaving directions that bulletins of his son's condition might be forwarded thrice daily.¹

The duke de Alba remained at Alcalá, and took up his abode in the episcopal palace. For the space of a few days the prince made favourable progress. His diet consisted of broths, chicken, and dried plums, of which fruit he was excessively fond. His docility and obedience are described as most exemplary.² On the tenth day after the accident, however, the wound began to inflame, accompanied by

¹ Documentos Ineditos, t. xv. p. 553.

² "Mostro tambien su Alteza gran obediencia y respecto à su majestad; porque ninguna cosa de las que el duque de Alba ò Don Garcia de Toledo le decian en su nombre, dejo de hacer con gran facilidad, aun en las dias del delirio."—Relacion por el Doctor Olivares, médico de camara—Documentos Ineditos, t. xv. p. 253.

numbness of the left side, and acute pains in the head. During the night of the 31st of April, Carlos became so alarmingly ill, that his governor, Don Garcia de Toledo, sent an express to Madrid, to summon thence the physicians Olivarez and Vega. In a few hours they arrived, and found the prince in a high fever, attended by dangerous symptoms. "Oh, Olivarez!" exclaimed Don Carlos, mournfully, "behold me on the eleventh day, and fevered thus! 'Tis indeed a bad sign!" A consultation ensued; when the junta of medical professors pronounced that, as the symptoms denoted pressure on the brain, it would be necessary again to enlarge the wound. This operation was immediately performed in the presence of the duke of Alba; who first sent to Madrid to apprise the king of the critical condition of his son. The skull of the unfortunate Carlos was examined and found to be uninjured; though a red spot was discovered on the skin, adjacent to the wound, which the surgeons were at a loss to account for.¹ "I believe," says Olivarez, "that we exercised sound judgment in resorting to this remedy of enlarging the wound; although in the treatment of wounds on the head there are strange labyrinths."

On receiving the missive sent by Alba, Philip set out from Madrid, and arrived at Alcalà during the night of Sunday, May 2nd. The following day the prince was seized with shivering fits: in the course of a few hours erysipelas set in; his head, throat and

¹ Olivarez. St. Sulpice—*Négociations sous François II.*, p. 889.

shoulders, swelled to an enormous size ; and he lost the use of his eyes. When the king entered his son's chamber, the delirium of the prince was so violent, that few persons dared approach his pillow. On the 6th of May, a famous surgeon from Valladolid, named Torres, visited the prince, and recommended recourse to the operation of the trepan.¹ The physicians made many demurs ; but the extremity of their patient was so great, that the advice of Torres was, at length, adopted by the express order of Philip. The morning following the operation, which was performed, it is stated, with much skill, and successfully, the condition of the prince was worse than ever. In this extremity it was resolved to call in the aid of a certain Moorish doctor from Valencia, named Pinterete, whose unguents, it was reported, had achieved many miraculous cures. The specifics were first applied to the wound by the surgeons of the prince, and afterwards by the Moor himself. It was fortunate that the prince continued insensible during these experiments, especially after the application of the Moorish remedy ; for when the bandages were removed, it was found, to the consternation of the physicians, that the unguent had burned the skull, until "the bone was as black as the colour of ink," Olivarez declares, that he believes this salve to have been a preparation of pure caustic. The Moor was accordingly dismissed on the morning of the ninth of

¹ Olivarez. St. Sulpice—*Négociations sous François II.*, p. 889. Ferreras—*Hist. de España*, t. ix. Cabrera, *Hist. de Felipe II.*

May. "He then proceeded to Madrid," writes the prince's physician, with great complacency, "where he undertook the case of Don Hernando de la Vega, whom he speedily killed with his black unguents."

During the whole of this day, Don Carlos lay without sign of life; and the physicians, in a body, pronounced to the king that every chance of his son's recovery was extinct. Philip in great grief ordered several of his most precious relics to be conveyed to the chamber of the prince; for his majesty always carried such treasures about with him. An altar was reared at the foot of the patient's bed, upon which was placed the miraculous image of the Virgin of Atocha.¹ The king then entered the chamber of the prince, and with every sign of the deepest grief, he took leave of him, and departed for Madrid, where he shut himself up in the great Jeronomite monastery, without even first visiting the queen. If, as it has been asserted, Philip bore his first-born son the rancorous hate, which five years afterwards led to the assassination of Don Carlos, he had now only to issue his mandate forbidding the physicians to use further remedies, tending to disquiet the last hours of their patient, to accomplish his project with certainty, and also with impunity as to future repute. Instead of which, the king ordered a council of physicians, and commanded them to confer, and watch together by the side of the prince, ready to avail themselves of the slightest im-

¹ The image was brought in procession from Madrid, escorted by the prior and priesthood of the monastery.

provement in the condition of their patient, and to report to him minutely every six hours his state.

During the afternoon of the ninth of May, a procession of priests and prelates, entered the darkened chamber of the sufferer, bearing aloft a magnificent shrine, containing the bones of Fray Diego, a holy anchorite, who died in the odour of sanctity, during the reign of Henry IV., of Castile, and whose relics were deposited in the monastery of San Francisco de Alcalà. The prelates, likewise, brought the bones of the tutelar saints of the university of Alcalà, Justo y Pastor.¹ A solemn service of invocation then commenced, during which, the bones of Fray Diego were raised in their velvet shroud, and laid on the pillow, close by the insensible prince; while the *sudarium*, or mortuary cloth, which covered the features of the saintly dead, was reverently spread on the forehead of Don Carlos. The same night, the prince afterwards related, that the holy monk Diego appeared to him in a vision, wearing the habit of St. Francis, and bearing in his hand a cross of reeds, tied with a green band. The prince stated that, he at first took the apparition to be that of the blessed St. Francis; but not seeing the *stigmato*, he exclaimed, "How! dost thou no longer bear the marks of the ever blessed wounds?" The apparition made some

¹ Justo y Pastor were two juvenile saints, brothers, of the age of nine years old, who were put to death, A.D. 306, as they were going to school at Alcalà. They were the sons of a Gothic gentleman; and the stone on which they suffered martyrdom by decapitation is still pointed out.

reply, which Don Carlos declared that he had forgotten. Fray Diego, however, addressed to the prince a very consolatory admonition ; and ended by exhorting him to be of good cheer, for this time he should not die of his malady !”¹

After Philip’s arrival at San Geronimo, on the afternoon of the 9th of May, he despatched a missive to Elizabeth, informing her of the hopeless condition of his son ; and demanding her prayers. The queen was on that day to have granted a second audience to the count de Rambouillet, who had been sent by Catherine de Medici to Madrid, to justify some of her recent proceedings in Germany to Philip, and to deliver letters to the queen. In consequence of the evil tidings which she received from her consort, Elizabeth determined to delay the audience promised to Rambouillet ; and, instead, to pray for the recovery of the prince before the miraculous images of Madrid. She, therefore, addressed the following note to St. Sulpice, to excuse herself from receiving the count.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO M. DE ST. SULPICE.

“ Mons. l’ambassadeur,

“ I have received this day very bad news of the health of M. le prince. It, therefore, has seemed to me expedient that M. de Rambouillet should be advertised to delay his visit until another day. I send you some letters to forward (to France). I fear that M. le prince will not survive the night.”²

¹ Documentos Ineditos, t. xv. p. 553

² Négociations sous François II. (Supplément), p. 889.

It was the policy of the queen-mother in her dealings with the Spanish cabinet to make a great show of fervour towards her son-in-law in trifling matters. Such was the nature of the mission of the count de Rambouillet. Vague rumours reached the duke of Alba, that the count had been despatched on a secret ambassage to the Protestant courts of Germany, on matters relative to the publication of the canons of Trent. Upon the matter being mentioned reproachfully to the queen, by Chantonnay, Catherine denied that such had been the case; and insisted that Rambouillet should himself set out for Madrid, to explain the true nature of his mission, which was addressed to the Germanic Diet. "Knowing, ma fille, how many lies have been uttered relative to this mission, I have decided to send the count de Rambouillet to the king your husband, to explain the true facts. I am well aware that it is not the custom amongst princes to render account of their proceedings the one to the other; yet from the desire which inspires me to keep alive the friendship between the two kings,¹ I have been content to send the said sieur, that the king may hear the truth of that which has been so exaggerated,"² wrote Catherine in the credentials which she gave to Rambouillet to present to Elizabeth. The queen responded, as follows, to her mother's letter; a reply which she sent, as she mentions to St. Sulpice to forward without delay.

Charles IX. and Philip II.

² *Négociations sous François II.*, p. 889.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF SPAIN, TO CATHERINE DE MEDICI.

“Madame,

“Rambouillet arrived the day before yesterday in this town of Madrid. He has informed me of your health, and of many circumstances concerning affairs in France; at which I cannot but be greatly troubled considering the anxiety they inflict upon you. The count has mentioned that which you commanded him to do; as I, also, have read in your letter. I never heard, madame, that the said count had been accused of rendering us here bad offices when in Germany; but as it is your majesty's pleasure, I will assure the king my lord, in your name, that such was not the case. I cannot make reply to other matters mentioned in your letter, madame, as the king has been continually absent during the last fortnight. I pray God that he may return hither content, as we all desire, and that the prince may soon be pronounced convalescent, of which, I fear there is not much hope, since the fall which happened to him descending some steps. He wounded his head seriously; although at first the hurt was little thought of; now, however, it will be considered a miracle if he escapes with life. God grant that he may pass this night, which, if he does, I shall have good hope of his case, as the twenty-first day since his illness will then be over. I will refer you, madame, to the ambassador for further news of our condition; but anything which I may hear from his majesty, I will write to you myself speedily. I pray God, madame, to give you health and long life.

“Your very humble, and very obedient daughter,

“ELIZABETH.”¹

On the 12th of May, Sir Francis Throckmorton,

¹ Négociations sous François II., p. 889.

the English ambassador, wrote to his court: "the prince of Spain falling down a pair of stairs, was left for dead. If he recovereth, it will be counted a miracle, and wherewithal an opportunity to rehearse their superstitions in curing of the said prince."¹ Grave care for the future harassed the mind of king Philip, as he watched at Alcalà by the pillow of his only son, the heir of his vast dominions. Philip's hope of offspring from his third marriage, had not as yet been realized; but a resolve previously taken to his sojourn at Alcalà, the king now determined to execute. After Don Carlos, the son of Maximilian, king of Bohemia and of the Infanta Marie, Philip's eldest sister was heir, not only to the Austrian dominions of the Hapsburg, but likewise of Spain and her tributary crowns. The king, therefore, wrote to his sister about this period, desiring her to send her sons, the archdukes Rodolph, Mathias, and Ernest, to be educated in Spain, intimating that, as it was possible, the archduke Rodolph might become his heir, it was requisite his education should not be exclusively German; but that he should be initiated into Spanish customs. "The prince of Spain being wounded and hurt, the king would have Maximilian's sons brought into Spain, and trained up there: but," adds the shrewd Throckmorton, "it is only the king's tricks to have the emperor's² children in his

¹ MS. Cotton—Vesp. c. vii. fol. 261. Sir Francis Throckmorton to Sir Henry Cobham.

² Maximilian succeeded to the Imperial crown on the decease of his

power, at all events. We have had news that the prince hath a fit of ague. He was visited by the king, who departed from Alcalà, despairing of his life.”¹ The king somewhat palliated his demand by promising to agree to the betrothment of Don Carlos with Maximilian’s eldest daughter, if the prince recovered. The desire of the king was complied with by Maximilian and his consort; and before the prince was pronounced out of danger, preparations were making for the reception of the archdukes, who were to land at Barcelona.

Throughout the night of the 9th of May, intercession continued to be offered for the recovery of the prince, before the altar reared in his chamber, and in all the churches of Toledo, Alcalà, and Madrid. The physicians were untiring in their zeal; strong stimulants were applied, and twice recourse was had to the lancet. The duke of Alba remained throughout the night standing at the foot of the prince’s couch; while his governor, Don Garcia de Toledo, sat in an arm chair by his side. Indeed, so devoted had been the attention of the latter, that it is related he never retired to rest once during the malady of his pupil; but sat upright always at his post, night and day, by the prince.² The most affectionate of the prince’s numerous

father Ferdinand, in 1564. He was not, therefore, emperor when Throckmorton’s despatch was written.

¹ MS. Cotton—Vesp. c. vii. To the Queen’s majesty from Madrid, fol. 261, May 12, 1562.

² Don Luis de Quizada Caballerizo, mayor to the prince, was so exhausted by fatigue and watching, that he fell ill of fever and erysipelas.

attendants, however, was his sub-preceptor, Honorato Juan, afterwards bishop of Osma. Throughout this night, when every breath drawn by the prince was expected to be the last, this good old man prayed incessantly for the restoration of his pupil's health. About dawn a favourable change was observed in the condition of Don Carlos—his respiration became less laboured, and to the surprise of all, he fell into a heavy slumber. Intelligence was immediately forwarded to the king of the happy event. This change was apparently the crisis of the disorder; for the delirium, when the prince awoke, returned no more, and other dangerous symptoms abated.¹

On the 17th of May, Don Carlos recovered his sight. The first object upon which his eyes fell was the miraculous image of Atocha, at the foot of his bed. The prince devoutly pronounced an *Ave-Maria*; he then made a solemn vow that if his life was spared, he would distribute at the shrines of the Virgin of Atocha, Guadaloupe, Montserrat, and Toledo, vessels of gold plate, of four times his own weight when he rose again from his couch, and silver vessels of seven times his weight at that period. On the 6th day of June, Don Carlos was weighed for the punctual performance of his vow. The prince wore, on that occasion, a surcoat, and a robe of damask; and his weight was three *arrobas*² and one pound.

On the 14th day of June, Don Carlos rose from

¹ Documentos Ineditos, t. xv.

² A Spanish weight of twenty-five pounds. Ibid, Relacion de Olivarez.

his bed, and went to visit his father, who waited to receive him in his apartment within the episcopal palace. A few days later, the prince made a progress to all the churches and shrines in Alcalà; and especially to that of Fray Diego, whose body he contemplated for some time with edifying devotion. The saintly monk, whose intercession had so greatly benefited the prince, received the honour of canonization during the ensuing year, on the petition of Philip and his son. The prince finally quitted Alcalà on the 17th of July, and proceeded, travelling after sunset on account of the great heat, to Madrid, where he arrived on the 19th at ten o'clock at night. He was received with great ceremony by the king and queen, by Ruy Gomez and the foreign ambassadors; and conducted with many congratulations to his apartments in the palace.

During the illness of Don Carlos, civil war had broken forth with violence throughout France. The Huguenots expelled from Paris by the party of Lorraine, sought refuge in Orleans, under the leadership of Condé. Antoine de Bourbon, Catherine's colleague in the regency, won by the representations and bribes of the nuncio, and Chantonnay, had at length joined the Catholic party. The queen of Navarre driven with contumely from the capital, protected the reformers in Béarn; and presumed to disregard the mandates of her consort and his new allies. Catherine de Medici, panic-stricken at these ominous events, invoked the aid of Condé and his

Calvinist army, to deliver the king, a captive as she termed his majesty, in the hands of the princes of Lorraine. Escorted by the victorious Triumvirate from Fontainebleau to Paris, despite her reluctance and threats; and compelled to rescind the edicts given at the commencement of her regency in favour of the Huguenots; and to summon to her counsels only those personages approved by the king of Navarre, the Guises, and their patron the king of Spain, the queen-regent beheld her authority overthrown and her exile contemplated. Antoine de Bourbon, however, was unstable and treacherous; and Catherine's favourite child was the beloved consort of the king of Spain. The Guises, therefore, taking warning by their former sudden deposition from power, and now having again obtained supremacy for themselves and their party, made humble submission to the queen-regent; and protested that their religious faith, having alone prompted their recent proceedings, they laid their personal ambition at the feet of her majesty, and besought her to resume her empire over affairs. Catherine well understood that the Guises made concession only to grasp their position with more tenacious hold. Power, however, being her aim, she resolved to rule either with Guise, Bourbon, or Condé as her coadjutor—trusting, hereafter, to maintain pre-eminence over all, by the exercise of that ready wit, courage, and faculty of present resource ever at her command. Condé, therefore, whose assistance she had so pathetically invoked, received

her majesty's commands to lay down arms, and submit with his Huguenots to the existing *régime* as she herself had done. The stern soul of Condé was not, however, to be thus moulded to the political caprice of the mother of the king. The re-enactment of her own edict of January, was firmly demanded by the prince, as a pledge of her majesty's freedom of action, and also of the placable and tolerant disposition of the government. The demand was met by the republication of certain penal edicts against heresy, issued by Henry II. Catherine disowned her letters to Condé; or rather denied the sense which the most impartial perusal of them imparted. With ready sophistry, she added a text, or glossary to these celebrated letters, which conveyed a very different meaning to that implied by the usual acceptation of the words. Condé, meantime, concluded a treaty with Elizabeth of England, and advanced with his army; war broke out in every province of France—Bourges, Angoulême, Rouen, Havre, Blois, Orleans, and numberless other towns declared for the Huguenots, and opened their gates to the armies of the prince. In Spain, this outbreak was at first regarded with mute astonishment; though the great towns of Flanders, with their organized juntas, and dauntless populace, had somewhat initiated the Spanish government into the terrors of insurrectionary tumult. The event which, perhaps, for the moment, most violently exasperated Philip, was the outrage committed at Angoulême by the Huguenot troops,

who violated the tombs of the counts of Angoulême, and burned their bones. Amongst other tombs thus rifled, was that of the father of Francis I, and the great grandfather, therefore, of Elizabeth de Valois. The young queen herself, seems deeply sensible of the indignity inflicted on her house ; and she wrote her opinion thereon to the queen her mother, with that resolution and firmness which her character daily developed. The strength of her trust in her mother's religious zeal, had been shaken by the queen's concession to the Huguenot leaders, whom Elizabeth regarded as the foes of her family ; and whose progress, she held, ought to be arrested by the sword. In Spain she saw no hand lifted against the majesty of the king, or the authority of the two ministers, Alba and Valdez, whom it had been the royal will to place over affairs secular and spiritual ; and she blamed her mother that a similar obedience was not established in France.

Elizabeth, in her letter, written in deprecation of the excesses of the Huguenot troopers, first expatiates upon the insolent conduct of Condé, who had declined to prolong a parley¹ with the queen-regent, to which she had summoned him. " I deem this act, madame, so evil, as does the king my husband, that I cannot help admonishing you, that you ought not to endure such treatment. The courier, Le Mestre, has also made known to me, how these said people have overthrown the church at Angoulême, and rifled the tombs of

¹ At Toury.

the dukes, and burned their bones, which ought sufficiently to demonstrate to your majesty, the disdain they bear the king my brother, inasmuch as they have burned the bones of his ancestors. I beseech you, therefore, madame, to dissemble your anger no longer, or they will commit still worse things ; though, I confess, I scarcely know in what they can exceed this—rifling the tombs of the princes our ancestors—which shows at once, that they commit not these things for the sake of religion only, but to make themselves rulers in our stead. I, therefore, advise you, madame, no longer to dissemble with the prince de Condé ; but to recall the Catholics and show them favour, as you have done until now.”¹ Elizabeth appears to have always communicated the contents of her mother’s letters to Philip ; during his absence she forwarded them by courier, and in her replies , she frequently quotes her husband’s opinions. Thus, while he was at Alcalà, the queen wrote to impart the seizure of Orleans by the Huguenot party. Philip, in return, indited a confidential letter to his young consort, in which he bemoaned the contumacy, and little firmness displayed by the queen-mother since her assumption of power. Elizabeth in her next epistle, then plainly and without circumlocution, imparts to her mother the true impression produced upon herself, and her consort. “ The king, my lord, madame,” writes she to her mother, after

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp., Portef. de l’Aubespine.—Ined.

Condé's entry into Orleans,¹ "assures me of his sympathy. He thinks, madame, that the only remedy for these disorders is to chastise where punishment is necessary; though he fears that now it is too late to put down these evil-doers. You know full well, madame, how often I have admonished you of this danger, as we have always predicted such result." The queen of Spain, during her husband's absence, likewise, received a pompous note from her brother Henry, a boy of twelve years old, in which the prince returns his queenly sister thanks for her intercession in favour of king Charles' government; a benefit for which he vows eternal gratitude. Another incident occurred to Elizabeth during the absence at Alcalà, of "le roy monseigneur, et mon bien bon mari," which so greatly disturbed her, that she forthwith despatched a courier to her mother, even without first consulting St. Sulpice, or the king. A Dominican monk, who asserted that he had fled over the frontiers of Béarn into Spain, to escape from the persecutions of "Madame de Vendôme," applied to one of Elizabeth's ladies, probable to the *camaréra*, to obtain him private audience of the queen, as he had something of vital importance to reveal to her majesty, respecting her kindred in France. Elizabeth assented to the petition, and granted audience to the Dominican. The latter then confessed that he was cognizant of a plot to poison the queen her mother, and the king

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp.—Portef. l'Aubespine.—Ined. La royne Catholique a la royne mère.

with his two brothers, Henry and François ; and that one of his majesty's physicians, named Pepin, was amongst the conspirators ; and another physician of the capital, named Cupille, who resided in the Rue des Ecoles des Médecins. The monk offered to maintain his statement in the presence of the persons he accused, provided he were assured of protection ; the more especially, as he greatly dreaded the vengeance of the queen of Navarre, in whose prisons he had been confined four times. He also informed Elizabeth that he had been honoured with an interview by her Christian majesty, "and in testimony of which he has given me certain tokens by which, madame, you will judge whether he speaks truth, as I forward them to you in writing as they were delivered to me."¹ When Elizabeth had despatched her messenger, she directed that the Dominican should remain under strict *surveillance*. Ultimately, by Philip's orders, he was conducted into France, to be confronted with the persons whom he had accused. The issue of the event is not on record ; probably it proved a false accusation, as mention is nowhere made of any plot at this season, implicating members of king Charles' household.

The domestic comfort of the queen had greatly increased since the departure of her turbulent French household. Madame de Vineux performed her duties "with excellent devotion," as the ambassador

¹ MS. Bibl. Imp., F. de Mortemart.—Ined. Lettre de la royne Catholique à la royne mère.

testified; while the condesa de Urueña no longer irritated by the rivalry of madame de Clermont, demeaned herself so as to give great satisfaction to Elizabeth, who gradually imbibed a sincere liking for the once hostile *camaréra-mayor*. Elizabeth, likewise, had made progress in the Spanish tongue, which she now spoke with ease and elegance. In public, to please the king her husband, the queen always spoke in Spanish, even to the *grandees* and foreign ambassadors, who were familiar with French. Her own countrymen she always addressed in their language, to demonstrate how dear to her was the memory of France. “She received us always,” says Brantôme,¹ “from the highest to the poorest, with most serene and benignant grace; and no one ever left her presence without feeling very honoured and satisfied. But she was born gifted with innate majesty of mind and presence, being very skilful, so that the grandeur of a crown oppressed her not.”

The autumn of 1562, was spent by Philip and his consort at Segovia, in the Alcazar, where Isabella the Catholic had been proclaimed queen of Castile—an abode subsequently rendered famous by being the scene of many of the most interesting events in the life of that great princess. On the 29th of September, the king and queen went to survey the site of El Escorial.² At this season of the year, a bleak and

¹ Brantôme—*Dames Illustres*. Vie d'Elizabeth de Valois.

² Enriquez Florez—*Vidas de las reynas Catolicas*—Vida de Doña Isabel de Valois.

gloomy prospect greeted the queen, and, perhaps, may have rendered her incredulous, while listening to the assurances given by Philip and his architects, that a fair and stately palace could rise on that barren spot. The foundations of the vast building were in process of being excavated, when this visit of the sovereigns was made; and the first stone of the superb chapel of St. Lorenzo, was laid by Philip in the autumn of the following year, 1563.¹

After a sojourn at Segovia, the court proceeded to Aranjuez for the winter. This palace was always the favourite abode of Elizabeth; and its varied delights made her forget the Fontainebleau of her own land, which she had once refused to believe had its equal in Spain.

Soon after their arrival here, the king and queen of Spain received another sumptuous gift from Catherine de Medici. "The queen-mother has sent hither a costly present," writes the bishop of London, to queen Elizabeth:² "viz. to king Philip, two amblers, with their saddles and trappings, as rich as gold and silver may afford; to the queen her daughter, the like; and to the prince and princess (Doña Juana) greyhounds." In testing the swiftness of these greyhounds along the verdant chase of Aranjuez, Doña Juana, though an expert rider, was thrown from her horse. The princess was stunned by her fall, and lay on the ground for some minutes

¹ Documentos Ineditos, t., i. Florez, *Vidas de las reynas Catholicas*.

² MS. Cotton. Vesp. C. vii. fo. 246, B. Museum.—Ined.

insensible; but on recovering, she insisted upon mounting her horse again, and continuing her pastime, having first strictly commanded her ladies and cavaliers not to mention the accident to their majesties who were neither of them present. The incident, nevertheless, came to the ears of Philip, and greatly outraged his notions of propriety. The king sent for Don Fadrique de Portugal, equerry to Elizabeth, who had participated in the diversion of the princess, and sternly questioned him as to the circumstances of the accident. He next summoned Doña Juana, and demanded the names of the cavaliers who had dismounted to render her assistance. The princess discreetly replied, "that her ladies had alone approached to succour her, during the few minutes subsequent to her fall, before she was able to rise." Philip appeared to be content with the results of his investigation; and even acknowledged that etiquette had been violated as little as possible under the circumstances. During the following day, however, an order was issued by the king, prohibiting the ladies of the court from partaking in the diversion of hunting, except by following the chase in their coaches.¹

The court remained at Aranjuez until shortly before the commencement of Lent, 1563. The royal pair then returned to Madrid, where Philip was greeted by St. Sulpice, the French ambassador, who

¹ Don Juan de Vitriano—*Commentaires sur sa traduction Espagnole des Mémoires de Commynes*, chap. 127.

brought intelligence of the peace concluded by Catherine de Medici with the Huguenots before Orleans, March 18, 1563. During Elizabeth's retirement at Aranjuez, fresh events of signal moment had shaken the realm of France. The king of Navarre had been mortally wounded in the trenches, while besieging Rouen, October 25th, 1562, which town was valiantly defended by Montgommery and the English sent to Condé's assistance by queen Elizabeth.¹ Town after town had submitted to the Huguenot arms. The south of France, hostile to the government of the princes of Lorraine ; and goaded to revolt by the cruel massacres perpetrated by the king's lieutenant, the marshal de Montluc, rose in rebellion. These triumphs of the Huguenot faction were balanced by the defeat of Dreux, in which battle Condé was made prisoner ; while the constable de Montmorency remained captive in the hands of the admiral de Coligny and his party. The duke de Guise then assumed the command in chief of the royal forces, and led his army to invest Orleans. The siege commenced on the 6th of February ; on the 10th day of the same month, the duke de Guise was assassinated by Jean Méry Poltrot, a Huguenot in the service of the baron de Soubise, and expired after a few days of lingering agony, admonishing the queen with his latest breath to conclude peace with the princes of Bourbon, and with their adherents. Catherine demanded nothing better : the contest had

¹ Mezeray. De Thou. Mém. de Michel de Castelnau.

exhausted both parties, and left her mistress, and arbitress of the destinies of France. Antoine, king of Navarre the chief of Bourbon, her rival, was dead—Guise, a foe, so hated and feared, had also passed away. The heirs of Bourbon and of Guise, were yet children under tutelage; Condé cajoled by a semblance of power, and enslaved by the fascinations of Isabel de Limeuil, seemed to the ambitious Catherine no formidable opponent. The cardinal de Lorraine alone, remained the object of her distrust; but a mission to Rome on the vexed question of the recognition of the canons of Trênt, served as a pretext for the temporary absence of that astute prelate. Jeanne d'Albret was occupied in Béarn by embarrassments, political, and religious: while Philip II, Catherine's dreaded, yet courted ally, found himself betrayed into approval of the peace of Orleans, from the very urgency of the crisis. The elements of strife were for the moment spent; and the compact of Peronne remained in virtual abeyance during the minority of the chief of the house of Guise. Philip, therefore, received the communication made by St. Sulpice with great composure. He asked the ambassador to rehearse the principal stipulations of the recent convention. St Sulpice replied by reading aloud the despatch, which he had received from queen Catherine, adding "that her majesty was about to send the sieur d'Oysel on a special mission to explain all, with the true condition of parties in France; pending which event, he humbly prayed

the king not to repose belief in any report which he might hear." Philip graciously promised so far to forbear; and then dismissed the ambassador, who proceeded to the apartment of the queen, to compliment her on the restoration of peace. Elizabeth expressed great joy at the intelligence, "showing, madame, by word and gesture, how much she approved of the good and holy work which you have completed." The ambassador continues to recount how the queen informed him, with many expressions of gratitude to the king her husband, that on the feast of the Annunciation, Philip had promised her a succour of three thousand horse for the service of the queen her mother, over and above the veteran troops which he had already placed at the disposal of the French government, in case the queen found it impossible to conclude a peace.¹

In the same despatch, St. Sulpice observes that the health of the queen continued to improve; and as her position in a political sense increased in importance, she discarded all levity of manner, and assumed the stately deportment becoming the majesty of a queen of Spain. "Your daughter, madame," says St. Sulpice, "makes progress daily in mental and bodily graces; so that she will soon be a most accomplished princess, excelling in perfection of virtue." The dread which the young queen once felt for her consort had vanished; and she requited

¹ *Dépêche de St. Sulpice, ambassadeur en Espagne à la royne mère Catherine de Medici, MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortemart, 2542, fol. 39.—Ined.*

the affection shown towards her by the king; and the trust which he reposed in her fidelity to the interests of his crown. Elizabeth never forgot that she was Catholic queen of Spain, and wife of Philip, while remembering the claims of France on her sympathy and affection. She rightly made it a principle to serve her country by open advocacy, instead of by the intrigue suggested by her royal mother. Philip consequently placed unbounded trust in her integrity; and she obtained from him privileges which had been harshly refused to her predecessors, his deceased consorts. The king was conciliated by the deference of Elizabeth's manner towards himself, contrasted with the dignity of deportment which, young as she was, the queen knew how to assume in the presence of her court. Elizabeth quickly comprehended her position, the character of the king her husband, and the disposition of his courtiers. With the exception of her error in retaining the ladies of her French household, the queen with great good sense, avoided all participation in the contentions of her court. She pleased the reserved Philip, by elevating no favourite; and soon, therefore, he gave her his own personal and political confidence, which there is no record that the queen ever betrayed. The king's apartments, in most of the royal palaces, were situated over those of the queen. A private staircase led from Philip's apartments to those of his consort; opening into a small saloon, which not even the *camaréra-mayor* was privileged to approach,

without the queen's express sanction.* Often Philip, it is recorded, used to leave his secretaries Vasquez and Eraso, to converse there in private with the queen; who was always ready to quit the circle of the court, or her own private occupations, to become his companion. The increasing influence which Elizabeth exerted on the mind of her husband, is often made the subject of congratulation and comment by the French ambassador to queen Catherine.

Philip, after a time, made his consort the exponent of his sentiments on French politics to the ambassador St. Sulpice. The king thus discussed, it appears, the communication made to him relative to the peace of Orleans. "Her majesty," writes that ambassador, "afterwards very methodically and wisely imparted to me the disposition of the king her husband, on the present posture of affairs in France, with so many minute particularities, and in such expressive language, that we well understood that the king must have confided all to her ear."¹

Elizabeth's health permitted her to keep the Lent of 1563, with greater rigour. She fasted, or rather refrained from eating meat three days in the week, without feeling ill effects from her abstinence. The week preceding Passion Week, Philip as usual departed to his monastic retirement. He selected the Jeronomite monastery of El Parral de Segovia, for his retreat. This famous monastery, was one

¹ St. Sulpice à la royne mère, MS. Bibl. Imp. Mortem., 2542, fol. 39:—Ined.

of the most wealthy of Spain ; and its lands encircled the royal domain in the vicinity of Segovia, and extended nearly to El Escorial. It lay embosomed amid gardens and vineyards, sheltered by rocky hills. So greatly was the beauty of its site appreciated, that it was commonly said : *Las huertas del Parral, son Paraíso terrenal*. Philip commanded that Don Carlos should attend him in his seclusion at El Parral. The prince was now in the enjoyment of tolerable good health, and perfectly able to bear the journey to Segovia. The command, nevertheless, was very distasteful to Don Carlos, who hated discipline or restraint of any kind ; while the presence it may be believed of his son, could not have quickened the devotion, nor added to the fervour of Philip's own orisons. Philip probably desired to spare the queen the *ennui* of his son's eccentricities during his absence ; especially as the princess Juana, inspired with a great fervour of religious zeal, had sought retreat in the nunnery of the Carmelite order which she was building in Madrid—Las Descalzas Reales. The duke of Alba, also, retired to perform his religious duties in his castle of Alba. Philip, therefore, deemed it better that Don Carlos should remain under his own eye, attending the masses said, and the homilies delivered by the abbot Pacheco of El Parral, rather than be suffered to follow the promptings of his own mischievous inclinations. Elizabeth remained an inmate of the palace in Madrid. During Holy Week, she performed her

duties with edifying devotion, to the great contentment of the prelates in attendance on her majesty. Elizabeth visited the churches and shrines in succession ; she distributed alms with her own hand, and publicly washed the feet of twelve pilgrims. Every day, she heard mass, to which she was attended by the ladies of her court, and the French ambassadress.¹

After Easter, Philip proceeded to El Escorial, to lay the first stone of the chapel in the edifice, and to inspect the works. He then visited Valsain, a palace appertaining to the crown, close to Segovia ; and from thence he returned to Madrid, where he found awaiting his presence, M. d'Oysel, the ambassador sent by Catherine de Medici on a special mission relating to the peace recently concluded in France. Don Carlos returned to Alcalà, and continued his studies with very ill grace, and with consequent little success.

About this time, Philip nominated his own confessor Fray Diego de Chaves, to direct the conscience of his unruly son and heir. It was the wise policy of the king, to appoint officers of his own household to posts about the person of his son ; as by this means he obtained early information of the prince's projects and vagaries, which too often needed prompt repression.

During the months of June and July, 1563, great preparations and discussions ensued at the court of Madrid, relative to the projected journey

¹ St. Sulpice à la royne mère—MS. Bibl. Imp. Mortemart, 2542.—Ined.

of Philip in the autumn, to hold the Cortès of Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, in the town of Mouzon. Elizabeth desired greatly to accompany the king thither, and she made it her earnest request that she might not be left in Madrid. Philip at once assented to the wish of his consort, and preparations were actively commenced for the departure of the royal pair during the month of October. Before that period arrived, Don Carlos and Doña Juana his aunt, fell sick of fever. The princess remained seriously ill for some weeks; while the prince recovered in a few days, as his illness was occasioned by an imprudence of which he had been guilty, having one day returned from his favourite pastime—running races with his companions—heated and exhausted, when he petulantly threw off his apparel, and lay down to sleep on the marble floor of his chamber. In consequence of the illness of the princess, and of Don Carlos, Philip deemed it expedient for the queen to remain at Madrid.

Doña Juana became convalescent soon after her brother's departure, and paid her first visit to the queen, while the French ambassador, was conversing with her majesty. St. Sulpice relates that the young queen gave her sister-in-law a most loving greeting; and that the princess looked tolerably well recovered. The ambassador gallantly escorted the princess back to her apartments when she took leave, which was soon, as she felt not able as yet, to endure much

conversation. "I took this opportunity, madame," wrote St. Sulpice, to Catherine,¹ "to express to S. Alteza, the gladness with which your majesty would receive the news of her convalescence, the which I should make known as speedily as possible. Her highness replied, "that she thanked me very much for my courteous intimation, and that she commissioned me to kiss your majesty's hand on her behalf." The princess had recently become an object of consideration to the members of the French embassy; as, one day while the ambassador was plying Elizabeth with questions, as to whether she thought there was hope of concluding the alliance between Don Carlos and her sister, madame Marguerite, the young queen abruptly replied, "that she thought his Catholic majesty would accept that alliance, provided the queen, her mother, asked the hand of Doña Juana for her brother, King Charles." It is quite impossible that Philip and Elizabeth seriously contemplated such an alliance as that between Charles, a boy of thirteen years of age, and the princess, who had seen thirty-seven summers. The king, who, if he married his son, had determined to give him a princess of Hapsburg to wife, was weary of the perpetual repetition of Catherine's importunity on this matter. Doña Juana, however, unhappily believed the alliance to be one of possible accomplishment; and she literally put faith in the subsequent parley which ensued on this ridiculous proposal, and

¹ St. Sulpice à la Royne mère—MS. Bibl. Mortem., fol. 44.—Ined.

demonstrated the greatest anxiety to ascend the throne of France. To her intimate friends, Juana even confided her resolve "either to become the consort of the king of France, or to end her days in the nunnery she had founded; as excepting the French alliance, there was none other commensurate with her dignity." Catherine, when first informed of this proposal, exclaimed, "The princess is too old for the king, my son; she is of suitable age to be his majesty's mother!"¹ Not, however, to appear deficient in courtesy, queen Catherine desired her ambassador gravely to intimate to king Philip, that in case his majesty assented to the alliance between Marguerite and Don Carlos, she would ask the hand of Juana for her second son, Henry duc d'Anjou, a prince then in his twelfth year, and negotiate the marriage of Charles IX, with the archduchess Anne of Austria. Philip was far from desiring to promote the alliance of the Valois with the imperial house of Hapsburg; or to permit that by the union of Charles IX. with the eldest archduchess, the king should obtain for his posterity any right, however remote, to the crowns of Hungary, Bohemia, and to the duchy of Austria. King Philip, however, persisted in declining any engagement for his son: the health of Don Carlos, his majesty said, was precarious, and his mental condition somewhat worse; he, therefore, continued to negotiate, and to avoid any final decision.

¹ Brantôme—*Dames Illustres*. Vie de Jeanne d'Autriche, Infante d'Espagne, princesse de Brézil.

In Arragon, meantime, most of the financial demands made by the king's commands to the States, had been unceremoniously rejected. The sturdy and independent members of the Arragonese and Catalan Cortès, showed themselves resolute in opposing the arbitrary projects of Philip, and his minister Alba. The deputies from Valencia, proved more docile, and voted on most questions with the government. Philip asked for a larger supply to defray the expenses of the war he had lately waged in Italy and the Netherlands. The Cortès rejected the demand ; and voted the king only the usual sum of 500,000 crowns. Upon minor questions of privilege, and home government, the deputies acted with the same disregard to the wishes of the king. Philip made no display of impotent resentment ; but from that session he deliberated upon the expediency of totally abolishing the ancient Cortès of Arragon ; and declaring that kingdom, and the principality of Catalonia, an integral portion of the great Spanish monarchy, with the privilege only of sending members to a national assembly of states in Castile. This design was executed by the king at a later period of his reign. Philip, on this occasion, refused to sanction several local petitions preferred by the Cortès, and council of Arragon ; and instead of closing the session of the states of Catalonia, then assembled in Barcelona, arrayed in royal robes, and with the ordinary ceremonies the king, to manifest his displeasure, proceeded to the hall of assembly clad in travelling

attire, booted and spurred; and declined to confer the honour of knighthood upon any, a ~~mark~~ of favour usually conceded on such occasions by the sovereign. On quitting the hall, Philip mounted his horse, and departed for Aranjuez, where the queen waited his return, without visiting the shrine of Sta. Engracia of Zaragoza, or deigning to accept the homage of the nobles assembled in that ancient capital of Arragon.¹

Elizabeth, with her consort, spent the winter at Aranjuez. The political events of Germany occupied Philip's attention during this season. Early at the commencement of the new year, the king received a message from his sister, and her husband Maximilian king of Bohemia, requesting to be definitively informed whether his Catholic majesty considered that the hand of the archduchess Anne was plighted to the prince Don Carlos. "His imperial majesty elect, prays the king that he will clearly and plainly notify his intentions on this matter, without longer temporizing thereon; as to do so would inflict grave injury and disgrace on the said emperor elect, and on his daughter."² Philip, however, was more reluctant than ever to consent to his son's marriage, as the long-hoped for event of the pregnancy of his young queen was on the eve of being officially announced. He, therefore, again declined in most peremptory

¹ St. Sulpice à la royne mère. MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortemart, fol. 3. —Ined.

² Ibid—Même dépêche.

manner to enter into positive matrimonial engagements with the emperor, excusing himself on the extreme youth of the parties, and on the delicate condition of his son's health. The content of the king at his consort's condition was unbounded ; and he ordered a courier to be instantly despatched to queen Catherine to impart the happy news. The postponement of this negotiation for his union with his cousin the archduchess, and the cause of the unwillingness of his father to bestow upon him a wife, being divined by the prince, increased his disaffection towards the king, and his desire to quit Spain for an independent command in Naples or the Low Countries. The impression throughout Europe had been general, that Philip would find himself compelled to assent to the just demands of Maximilian and his consort, by sanctioning, at least, the betrothal of his son to the archduchess. Catherine de Medici even, at this time, seems to have momentarily relinquished the hope of a Spanish marriage for her daughter Marguerite ; for she triumphantly told the duchess de Guise, and the cardinal de Lorraine, " that now she should no longer have reason to dislike and distrust their niece, the queen of Scots ; for it was, happily, a positive fact that the prince of Spain was betrothed to the princess of Bohemia." The cardinal mentioned the subject to Mary's ambassador in Paris, and repeated the words used by queen Catherine. The Scotch ambassador meeting Don Francisco de Alava, shortly

afterwards in the church of Nôtre Dame, at vesper hour, inquired whether the news of the betrothment of the prince of Spain was true; and whether queen Mary's felicitations would be considered premature. Don Francisco replied with diplomatic reserve, "that he had heard nothing to that effect:" (*"responde le, que no sabia tal."*¹)

The intelligence of Elizabeth's condition excited great joy at the court of France.² Catherine despatched a letter filled with directions for the preservation of her daughter's health during her pregnancy. She particularly recommends her to take walking exercise daily, and to avoid remaining in bed unless positively recommended to do so by her physicians. Catherine adds—"she knows her daughter's inclination too well to doubt, that on suffering the least inconvenience, she would immediately take to her bed, a course highly prejudicial, and to be avoided."³ The king issued many regulations for his consort's health, and convenience at this season. Amongst other things, he commanded that a magnificent sedan, or litter should be prepared, in which the queen might recline at her ease, in making the journey between Aranjuez and Madrid, where the king had settled that her *accouchement*

¹ Archives de Simancas, K. 1392, C. B. 18, p. 49. Carta de Don Francisco de Alava à Felipe II.—Ined.

² "En ce temps, vindrent nouvelles que la royne d'Espagne, sœur du roy de France estoit grosse, dont il y eut joie en France : spécialement de la part de ceux qui étoient de la religion Catholique.—*Journal de Brulart*.

³ Négociations sous François II., p. 612.

should happen. This sedan was draped with blue velvet embossed with the royal arms ; and the staves were of pure silver.¹

Every arrangement connected with her journey to Madrid was completed, when Elizabeth fell ill ; and shortly afterwards the Spanish physicians announced to his majesty that the queen's maternal hopes were for the present dissipated. Philip bore this disappointment with great equanimity ; and his conduct to his consort was considerate in the extreme ; for Elizabeth was overwhelmed with sorrow, and refused to be comforted. At the command of his royal master, Ruy Gomez despatched a messenger with tidings to the French ambassador : and a few days subsequently, St. Sulpice journeyed to Aranjuez to visit the queen, and to confer upon state affairs with Philip. Elizabeth wept bitterly, when condoled with, at the misfortune which had befallen her, "and," says the ambassador, "the king, her husband, had all the trouble in the world to console her. The king did me the honour afterwards, privately, to request that I would earnestly beg her majesty to be comforted, and also to entreat her, for his sake, not to grieve more. His majesty, moreover, desired when the queen arrived in Madrid, that I would send my wife to talk with, and cheer her."² The tender consideration always evinced by Philip for the feel-

¹ Dépêche de St. Sulpice à la royne mère—MS. Bibl. Imp., Mortem., fol. xxxix.—Ined.

² Ibid.

ings of his young wife, seem greatly at variance with the notion generally prevalent of his harsh and unamiable temper. Elizabeth, in numerous letters written to her mother, and to others, expresses grateful thanks that destiny had made her Philip's wife: and she dwells emphatically upon her domestic happiness, which she declares cannot be exceeded. The queen's assertion is borne out thoroughly by the despatches of the bishop of Limoges, of St. Sulpice, and de Fourquevaux—statesmen who succeeded each other in the Spanish embassy in Madrid.

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